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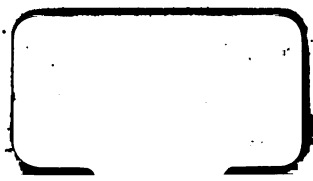

Memoirs of the LIFE and REIGN of Frederick the Third King of Prussia;

by

JOSEPH TOWERS, L.L.D.

in two Volumes.

VOL. I.

London.

Printed for Charles Dilly in the Poultry.

1788.

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KING OF PRUSSIA.

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MDCCLXXXVIII.

PREFACE.

FREDERICK the Third, the late King of Pruſſia, was ſuperior to every other prince of the age in which he lived, for the extent of his abilities, his talents as a ſtateſman and a general, his military exploits, and his literary attainments; and he excited the attention of mankind, in a very high degree, during a great part of the preſent century. Such, indeed, were his actions, and ſuch his endowments, that ages may revolve, before ano-

ther monarch ſhall ariſe, equally active, able, enterprizing, and warlike, and in whom ſuch various talents are united. A prince, who poſſeſſed abilities thus ſplendid and uncommon, and thus conſpicuouſly and remarkably exerted, muſt naturally be a conſiderable object of literary curioſity; and we are ſolicitous to become accurately acquainted with ſo extraordinary and ſo diſtinguiſhed a character.

THE Writer of the preſent Work is aware of the extreme difficulty of doing juſtice to his ſubject; but he has endeavoured to give an accurate and impartial account of the principal tranſactions of the life and reign of the late celebrated Pruſſian monarch,

narch, ſo far as proper information came within his reach; and it has been his aim not only juſtly to exhibit the public qualities of FREDERICK, as a king and as a hero, but alſo his more private character as a man, and as a lover of literature, ſcience, and the arts. He has not, however, been induced, by the ſplendour which ſurrounded the hero concerning whom he writes, to vindicate his actions, when they were repugnant to juſtice and to humanity. The rights of mankind are of infinitely more importance than the honour or the intereſts of princes; and however flattering the repreſentations that may be given of kings during their lives, there

can be no reaſon that theſe repreſentations ſhould be continued for the deception of poſterity.

As the Writer was deſirous of giving to his Work as much authenticity as poſſible, the references to his authorities will be found to be numerous; and where the authors, from whom his facts are derived, relate incidents and tranſactions of which they were themſelves eye-witneſſes, he has ſometimes given longer notes, and more copious extracts, than he otherwiſe would have done, from a deſire of communicating the moſt exact and ſatisfactory information, and of enabling his readers to judge for themſelves of the

the authenticity of the facts that are related.

In the courſe of this Work, accounts are occaſionally given, particularly in the notes, of men of letters, who were patronized by the King of Pruſſia, or with whom he was connected; and it is preſumed, that this part of the Work will not be unacceptable to readers of a literary taſte, to whom anecdotes of literary men are generally more intereſting, than minute accounts of ſieges and of battles.

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MEMOIRS

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FREDERICK THE THIRD,

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CHAP. I.

The birth of Frederick III. *king of Pruſſia.—He is inſtructed in his infancy in the French language, and early trained up in military exerciſes.—Accompanies his father on a viſit to Auguſtus, king of Poland.—Is preſent at a ſplendid military entertainment.—Character of his father, Frederick William, the ſecond king of Pruſſia.—The prince forms a ſcheme to quit his father's dominions.—His deſign diſcovered, and a young officer executed, who was to have accompanied him in his travels.—The prince himſelf confined in the caſtle of Cuſtrin.—He is releaſed, and his father becomes reconciled to him.*

THE great Prince, the incidents of whoſe life, and the tranſactions of whoſe reign, I have undertaken to relate, was the eldeſt ſon of

CHAP. I. A. D. 1712. Frederick William, the second king of Pruſſia, by Sophia Dorothea, daughter of George the Firſt, king of England. He was born at Berlin, on the 24th of January, 1712. He was baptized by the name of CHARLES FREDERICK; but he afterwards choſe to be known only by the name of FREDERICK, wholly omitting CHARLES, both in his private letters, and in his public memorials and ſtate-papers. In his infancy he was chiefly committed to the care of madam de Rocoule; and as this lady ſpoke only French, he was early familiarized to that language [1]; which was probably the cauſe of that partiality to it, which he ever afterwards diſcovered. But, at ſeven years of age, he was taken out of the hands of the women; and the count de Finck, of Finckenſtein, a lieutenant-general, and colonel of a regiment of horſe, was appointed his governor, and the baron de Kaleſtein his ſub-governor [2].

HE appears to have received little inſtruction in literature, or the ſciences; for the great object of the king his father was, to inſpire into him a taſte for a military life [A]; ſo that, even when a boy, he

[1] Pollnitz's Memoirs, vol. I. p. 27. edit. Lond. 1745.

[2] Ibid. p. 28.

[A] The author of the "History of Pruſſia, particularly "during the reign of the late king Frederick William," which was firſt publiſhed in the German language, but of which an Engliſh tranſlation was printed, in 8vo. in 1756, ſays, "Our monarch, deſiring to tranſmit to his ſucceſſor the "ſame

he was well verſed in military diſcipline. In 1723, when he was in the twelfth year of his age, George the Firſt, king of Great-Britain, went from Hanover to Berlin, to pay a viſit to the king and queen of Pruſſia; and on the ſecond day after his Britannick majeſty's arrival, the prince royal of Pruſſia, in order to entertain him, appeared on an eſplanade, near the gardens of the palace, at the head of three hundred young gentlemen cadets, of whom he was colonel, and whom he exerciſed with a degree of dexterity that ſurprized the Britiſh monarch [3]. The prince did not, however, confine himſelf to his military exerciſes; but applied himſelf cloſely to the ſtudy of polite literature, particularly poetry, and very early diſcovered a ſtrong propenſity to muſic. CHAP. I. A. D. 1723.

In 1728, the prince accompanied his father on a viſit to Auguſtus, king of Poland, who had invited his Pruſſian majeſty to paſs the carnival with him at Dreſden; and on this occaſion the Poliſh monarch conferred the order of the White Eagle on the prince of Pruſſia, and preſented him with a A. D. 1728.

"ſame martial inclination, which he had himſelf to a ſu-
"preme degree, cauſed a little arſenal to be made in the
"great hall of Orange, for the prince royal, his ſon, who
"was a promiſing youth, and entering into the ninth year
"of his age. This arſenal contained ſeveral ſmall pieces of
"artillery, a quantity of little fuſils, and other arms pro-
"portioned to his age." P. 28.

[3] Hiſtory of Pruſſia, during the reign of Frederick William, p. 305.

CHAP. I. A. D. 1728.

croſs of the order worth 12,000 crowns [4]. About two years after, he alſo went with his father, to be preſent at a very ſplendid military entertainment, which was made at the expence of the king of Poland, in the plain of Muhlberg, in the marquiſate of Miſnia, at the diſtance of about half a league from the Elbe. A camp was formed, and troops were aſſembled, to the amount of 30,000 men, for the purpoſe of performing various military evolutions. The camp was divided into two lines, each of which contained half the army, and took up the whole breadth of the plain; and the cavalry was placed on the two wings of each line, and the artillery in the center. The corners and extremities of the camp were terminated by pyramids of hewn ſtone, thirty-ſix feet high, finely cut and ornamented; and theſe pyramids marked out the extent of the place of arms, which was a mile long, and of equal breadth. Various temporary edifices were erected; and ſeveral days were paſſed in different military amuſements. Mock fights were exhibited; and in the evenings ſuperb fire-works were played off, and comedies performed; to which were added balls and concerts [5].

IT was not long after their return home from this excurſion, that a great miſunderſtanding took place between the king of Pruſſia and his ſon the prince-

[4] Hiſtory of Pruſſia, during the reign of Frederick William, p. 376. [5] Ibid. p. 402—419.

royal,

royal, and which at length aroſe to ſuch a height, as to induce the latter to form a reſolution to quit his father's dominions. Of the particular ground of this quarrel, we are not informed; though it has been intimated, that the miſunderſtanding between them was fomented by count Seckendorff [6]; but it has generally been accounted for from the violent temper of the king, and the auſterity of his behaviour; which renders it neceſſary to make here ſome obſervations reſpecting his character and manners. CHAP. I. A. D. 1728.

FREDERICK WILLIAM, the ſecond king of Pruſſia, was a prince whoſe ideas were almoſt wholly military, and the principal object of whoſe reign, from the very commencement of it, was, to render himſelf reſpectable to his neighbours, by keeping up a numerous army. By his frugal adminiſtration of his finances he contrived, the very firſt year of his reign, to maintain fifty thouſand men, without any foreign ſubſidies [7]. His greateſt pleaſure was to be maſter of the talleſt regiment in Europe; he ſpared no expence to procure the largeſt men he could meet with; and he ſeems to have ſcrupled no methods of obtaining men for his pur-

[6] Hiſtory of Pruſſia, during the reign of Frederick William, p. 420.

[7] Memoirs of the Houſe of Brandenburgh, written by his Pruſſian Majeſty, Lond. 1768. vol. II. p. 6.

CHAP. I. A. D. 1728.

poſe [B]. Voltaire ſays, that this monarch 'uſed 'to walk from his palace clothed in an old blue 'coat,

[B] He not only employed perſons to enliſt ſoldiers for him in different countries, but his agents ſometimes took men by force out of the territories of other princes. Among others, a brewer was forcibly taken out of a village in Poland, belonging to general count Fleming; who made repeated remonſtrances againſt this violence, but without effect. The Pruſſian enliſters alſo took ſeveral tall men by force out of the electorate of Hanover. *Hiſt. of Pruſſia, during the reign of Frederick William*, p. 306, 377. A conduct ſo violent, and ſo repugnant to reaſon, juſtice, and the law of nations, gave ſo much offence to George II. who, in 1727, ſucceeded to the throne of Great-Britain, that it had nearly occaſioned a war between Hanover and Pruſſia. By the command of his Britannick majeſty, ſome Pruſſian ſubaltern officers and ſoldiers were arreſted in Hanover, by way of repriſal for the Hanoverians that had been forcibly enliſted by the Pruſſians. Manifeſtoes were publiſhed on both ſides, and troops were aſſembled; but the affair was at length accommodated, without coming to extremities, by the interpoſition of other powers. A great animoſity, however, afterwards continued between Frederick William and the king of England; though it might, perhaps, be increaſed by other cauſes. Baron Bielfeld ſays, that the quarrel between them had once ariſen ſo high, 'that the two monarchs, after the 'example of Charles V. and Francis I. had determined to 'decide it by ſingle combat; that the king of England had 'fixed on brigadier Sutton for his ſecond; and that his Pruſ'ſian majeſty had made choice of colonel Derſchau; the ter'ritory of Hilderſheim being appointed for the rendezvous. 'His Britannick majeſty was then at Hanover, and his Pruſ'ſian majeſty was already arrived at Saltzdahl, near Brunſ'wick. Baron von Bork, who had been the Pruſſian mi'niſter

'coat, with copper buttons, half way down his CHAP. I.
'thighs; and when he bought a new one, these A. D. 1728.
'but-

'nister at London, and was dismissed from that court in a 'very ungracious manner, arriving at Saltzdahl, found the 'king his master in so violent a rage, that he did not think 'it advisable directly to oppose his design; but, on the con-'trary, in order to gain time, seemed to approve of the 'choice of a single combat, and even offered his service to 'carry the cartel. But entering the king's apartment about 'an hour after, he took the liberty to say, "Sire, I am "convinced, that your majesty's quarrel ought not to be de-"cided but by a duel; and, if I may be allowed the expres-"sion, as between one gentleman and another. But your "majesty is scarcely recovered from a dangerous illness, and "have still remaining all the symptoms of your late disor-"der: how unfortunate, therefore, would it be, if you "should relapse the evening before the combat, or even that "very morning? what a triumph would that be for the king "of England? and what would the world say? What odious "suspicions would it cast upon your majesty's courage? "Would it not, therefore, be far better to postpone the af-"fair for a few days, till your majesty's health is establish-"ed?" The king, they say, acquiesced, though with dif-'ficulty, in these reasonings; the cartel was not sent; the 'ministers on both sides gained time; the wrath of the two 'kings by degrees evaporated; and by the next year they 'became in some degree reconciled.' Bielfeld's Letters, vol. iii. p. 195, 196, 197.

Frederick III. in his *Memoirs of the House of Brandenburgh*, has mentioned the following particulars relative to the animosity which subsisted between his father and his uncle. He says, that 'Frederick William and George II. though bro-'thers-in-law, and in a manner brought up together, could 'never endure each other, even when children. This per-

CHAP. I. A. D. 1728. 'buttons were made to ſerve again [c]. It was in 'this dreſs that his majeſty, armed with a huge 'ſerjeant's cane, marched forth every day to re-

'ſonal hatred, and ſettled antipathy, had like to have proved 'fatal to their ſubjects. The king of England uſed to ſtile 'the king of Pruſſia, *my brother the ſerjeant*; and the king 'of Pruſſia the king of England, *my brother the player*. This 'animoſity ſoon infected their dealings, and did not fail to 'have its influence on the moſt important events.' Vol. II. p. 69, 70.

[c] The author of the "Hiſtory of Pruſſia, during the "reign of Frederick William," ſays, "He deteſted luxury "in dreſs and furniture, and would not lie in a chamber "hung with tapeſtry. He wore only a coat of coarſe blue "cloth, with gilt copper buttons, a ſtraw-coloured waiſt-"coat with a ſingle gold lace, and ſtraw-coloured breeches "alſo, except in ſummer, when he wore linen ones. He "wore only white ſpatterdaſhes, which were faſtened with "ſmall copper buttons, by the help of a little iron hook, "with which they were forcibly drawn till they came into "the button holes. His ſhoes were ſtrong, and durable, "with high heels and ſquare toes. His hat had only a plain "narrow gold lace, and little button without a loop, and a "band of gold twiſt about it, from which a ſmall golden "taſſel hung down on each ſide of the hat. The graſp of "his ſword was of ſilver wire, the guard and ſhell of gilt "copper, the blade large, long, and heavy, and the whole "hung by an elk ſkin belt, whitened with chalk." P. 81, 82.

The ſame writer ſays, in another place, that Frederick William 'was ſuch a lover of oeconomy, that he eſtabliſhed 'a profeſſor at Hall to teach it publicly; and believed, that 'a ſtate wanted nothing but oeconomy and troops to make 'it flouriſh.' P. 525.

'view

'view his regiment of giants. Theſe giants were his greateſt delight, and the things for which he went to the heavieſt expence. The men who ſtood in the firſt rank of this regiment, were none of them leſs than ſeven feet high; and he ſent to purchaſe them from the farther parts of Europe to the borders of Aſia. I have ſeen ſome of them ſince his death [8].' CHAP. I. A. D. 1728.

IT is ſaid of FREDERICK WILLIAM by his ſon, that he 'left behind him an army of ſixty-ſix thouſand men, whom his great oeconomy enabled him to maintain; his finances increaſed; the public treaſure full; and the moſt ſurpring order in all his affairs. If one may truly ſay, that it is to the acorn, from which it ſprung, we are indebted for the ſhade of the oak, the whole world muſt allow, that it is in the labours and wiſdom of this prince, we muſt look for the ſources of that proſperity which the royal houſe has enjoyed ſince his death [9].' But though Frederick William, agreeably to his ſon's account of him, was in ſundry reſpects an able and a politic prince, yet his temper was violent and arbitrary, and his manners were often extremely rough, and approaching

[8] Memoirs of the Life of Voltaire, written by himſelf, tranſlated from the French, Lond. 8vo. 1785. p. 17, 18.

[9] Memoirs of the Houſe of Brandenburgh, ut ſupra, p. 109, 110.

even

CHAP. I. A.D. 1726. even to brutality [D]. Voltaire says, that he was 'an absolute Vandal, who thought of no other 'thing,

[D] His temper and manners seem to have been variable; and there is a great contrariety in the accounts given of him by different writers. Baron Pollnitz, in a letter from Berlin, dated June 6, 1729, says, 'I had the honour to see the 'king, who was then seeing his soldiers mount guard. He 'is a prince of a middling stature, and in very good plight 'of body. His air commands respect; yet, when he pleases, 'no prince in the world can be more gracious. I heard 'him speak to his officers in such a kind manner, as could 'not but charm them. I admired his genius for military 'discipline; and perceived, that, with the glance of an eye, 'he could discover the least fault committed against that 'wonderful exactness, which is introduced in the evolutions 'of his troops. After the guards had performed their exer-'cise, the king stayed to see them file off. I never yet saw 'troops march with more order and state, so that it seemed 'as if they were all moved by one spring. All the soldiers 'are young, of an even stature, and the cleverest fellows 'that nature ever formed. They are well cloathed, and 'have such an air of neatness, that even the private centinels 'might all pass for officers.'

The same writer also says, 'The ministers of most conse-'quence at this court are Messieurs d'Ilgen, Grumkau, and 'Kniphausen. These are they who treat of foreign affairs, 'and through whose hands pass the secrets of state: but the 'king's prime minister is the king himself, who is informed 'of every thing, and is desirous to know every thing. He 'gives great application to business, but does it with extra-'ordinary ease; and nothing escapes his penetration, nor 'his memory, which is a very happy one. No one knows 'better than he where his government is strong, and where 'it is weak; and no sovereign in the world is of more easy 'access,

'thing, during his whole reign, than amaſſing of CHAP. I. A. D. 1728.
'money, and maintaining, at the leaſt poſſible
'expence,

'acceſs, his ſubjects being actually permitted to write to 'him, without any other formality than ſuperſcribing the 'letter, *To the King*. By writing underneath, *To be deli-* 'vered into his Majeſty's own hands, one may be ſure that the 'king receives and reads it, and that the next poſt he will 'anſwer it, either with his own hand, or by his ſecretary. 'Theſe anſwers are ſhort, but peremptory; and they pre- 'vent a tedious, painful attendance. The king, who is an 'enemy to vain pomp and pageantry, always goes abroad 'without guards, with only a ſmall retinue, and ſometimes 'too walks on foot. He makes his greatneſs to conſiſt in 'ſolid power, in the having his troops well diſciplined, his 'places kept up in good order, his arſenals well provided, 'and his treaſury full enough to enable him to oppoſe his 'enemy, in caſe he be attacked.'

'There is no town in all the king of Pruſſia's dominions, 'except Neufchatel, where he has not been; no province 'which he does not know full well; not a noble family but 'he can tell their revenues; nor a court of juſtice but he is 'well acquainted with their chief members.—His diverſion 'is hunting; and for this reaſon, he reſides conſtantly at 'Potſdam, or Wuſterhauſen, which are pleaſure-houſes four 'miles from Berlin. Yet he generally goes on Saturdays 'into his capital, where he holds a council on Sunday, and 'returns on Monday. In the winter he makes a longer ſtay 'at Berlin: but let him be either here or there, he is on the 'parade every day at ten o'clock, when his ſoldiers mount 'guard; after which he gives audience to his miniſters, and 'holds a council, or goes abroad for the air. At noon, the 'king appears in a great ſaloon, where are all the generals 'and officers, the foreign miniſters, and all the court in ge- 'neral. There he converſes a few moments, and then goes

CHAP. I. A. D. 1728. 'expence, the fineſt ſoldiers in Europe. Never 'were ſubjects poorer, or king more rich. He 'bought

'into another room, where he dines with the queen, the 'princes and princeſſes of his family, and any other perſons 'whom he has cauſed to be invited. His table is commonly 'ſpread for eighteen gueſts. After he has ſat about an hour 'and half at table, he retires to his cloſet till ſix at night, 'when he appears again in the room where he held his levee. 'There his majeſty gives orders to the mareſchal Wartenſleben, 'governor of Berlin, and to the mareſchal Natzmer, com- 'mandant of the gens d'arms. After this, he talks a while 'with thoſe that are preſent, and then paſſes into a room at 'ſome diſtance from his apartment, to which the queen re- 'pairs ſometimes with one or two ladies in company. There 'are ten or a dozen officers, whom the king honours with 'his confidence, who play here at picquet, ombre, and back- 'gammon. Here they alſo ſmoke; and to this place the 'king ſends for ſuch as he has a mind to talk with about 'ſpecial affairs. I have been there twice upon ſuch an ac- 'count. Here is no manner of reſtraint, but every body ſits 'down, the king diſpenſing with all the reſpect that is due 'to him, and, at eleven o'clock he diſmiſſes the company, 'and retires.' *Pollnitz's Memoirs*, vol. I. p. 23, 34, 35, 36, 37.

Another writer informs us, that in the middle of a reſervoir of water, at Potſdam, is a little building erected by Frederick William, 'who uſed to hold his councils of war 'in it, and ſeldom failed to repair thither every evening, to 'drink beer, and ſmoke a pipe with his generals. On thoſe 'occaſions a kind of ſupper was ſerved up of ſalt beef, ham, 'and Brunſwick ſauſages.' *Obſervations on the military Eſtabliſhment of the King of Pruſſia*, p. 36.

Baron Bielfeld ſays of Frederick William, that he was 'of a diſpoſition haſty and violent, liable to be offended by 'the

'bought up, at a deſpicable price, the eſtates of a 'great part of the nobility; who ſoon devoured 'the

CHAP. I. A. D. 1728.

'the moſt innocent actions; and the firſt motions of his wrath 'were ſometimes highly dangerous. He had, in general, 'no affection either for the polite courtier, or the man of 'letters.' *Letters*, vol. III. p. 121.

His ſon ſays of him, in his *Memoirs of the Houſe of Brandenburgh*, that 'he exerted himſelf to regulate his finances, 'the police, the courts of juſtice, and the army; depart-'ments which had been equally neglected under the preceding 'reign. He enjoyed an active mind in a vigorous body. 'There never lived a man ſo capable of entering into every 'branch of buſineſs; but then, if he ſtooped to little things, 'it was from a perſuaſion, that great things are only the 'combination of many little ones. He referred his under-'takings to one general plan of policy, which he had formed 'to himſelf; and, in labouring to bring every part to the 'utmoſt perfection of which it was capable, he only labour-'ed to perfect the whole.

'He aboliſhed all uſeleſs expences, and ſtopped thoſe ca-'nals of profuſion, through which his father had miſapplied 'the reſources furniſhed him by the proſperity of his ſub-'jects, to vain and idle purpoſes. The court was the firſt 'to feel the effects of this reformation. He retained but a 'few perſons eſſential to his dignity, or uſeful to the ſtate. 'Of one hundred chamberlains, in the ſervice of his father, 'he kept but twelve: the reſt took to the army, or the ca-'binet. He reduced his private expences to a very moderate 'ſum, ſaying, that a prince ought to be ſparing of the blood 'and ſubſtance of his ſubjects. In this reſpect, he might 'well be conſidered as a philoſopher on the throne, and 'quite the reverſe of thoſe great ſcholars, who make all their 'barren knowledge conſiſt in the ſpeculation of ſuch ab-'ſtract matters as ſeem to elude our inquiries. He himſelf

'gave

CHAP. I. A. D. 1728.

'the little money they got for them; above half 'of which returned to the royal coffers, by means 'of the duties upon consumption. All the king's 'lands were farmed out to tax-gatherers, who held 'the double office of exciseman and judge; insomuch, that if a landed tenant did not pay this 'collector upon the very day appointed, he put on 'his judge's robe, and condemned the delinquent 'in double the sum. It must be observed, that 'if this same exciseman and judge did not pay 'the king by the last day of the month, the day 'following he was himself obliged to pay double 'to the king. Did a man kill a hare, or lop a 'tree, any where near the royal domains, or commit any other peccadillo? he was instantly condemned to pay a fine.'—'It was by such means 'only, that he could, in a reign of twenty-eight 'years, load the cellars of his palace at Berlin with 'a hundred and twenty millions of crowns (fifteen 'millions sterling,) all well casked up in barrels, 'hooped with iron [10].'

FREDERICK WILLIAM had little acquaintance with literature or the sciences, nor did they receive

'gave examples of a frugality and austerity, worthy of the 'earliest periods of the Roman republic.—Averse to pomp 'and parade, and all the imperious trappings of royalty, 'he, with a virtue which might do honour to a Stoic, de'nied himself the most common conveniencies of life.' Vol. II. p. 3, 4.

[10] Memoirs of the Life of Voltaire, ut supra, p. 11, 12, 13, 16.

from

from him much countenance or encouragement [E]. But his ſon, the prince royal, notwithſtanding the little CHAP. I. A. D. 1728.

[E] Voltaire repreſents Frederick William as totally averſe to every kind of literature; and aſſerts, that if he caught the prince-royal "with a book in his hand, he threw it in "the fire; or playing on the flute, he broke his inſtru-"ment." He alſo ſays, "We may eaſily imagine, what "would be the aſtoniſhment and vexation of a Vandal, like "this, to find that he had a ſon endowed with wit, grace, "and good breeding; who delighted to pleaſe, was eager "in the acquiſition of knowledge, and who made verſes, "and afterwards ſet them to muſic." That Frederick William was a great enemy to muſic, is a fact that ſeems ſufficiently eſtabliſhed; but that he had ſuch a total averſion to all kinds of literature, as is here ſtated, may poſſibly be doubted. Indeed, Voltaire's account of this prince ſeems to be, in ſome reſpects, rather a caricatura than a juſt portrait. Another writer, however, tells us, that "he deſpiſed "aſtronomy, and all the abſtracted ſciences in general; pro-"bably for want of knowing the relation the different ſorts "of ſciences have to each other." Hiſt. of Pruſſia, p. 525. But from the patronage which he gave to the celebrated John Philip Barretier, of whom an account was publiſhed in French by M. Formey, and in Engliſh by Dr. Johnſon, it may be preſumed, that he had not an equal averſion to every branch of literature. Dr. Johnſon ſays, that when Barretier, then about fifteen years of age, arrived at Berlin, "the king "ordered him to be brought into his preſence, and was ſo "much pleaſed with his converſation, that he ſent for him "almoſt every day during his ſtay at Berlin; and diverted "himſelf with engaging him in converſations upon a mul-"titude of ſubjects, and in diſputes with learned men: on "all which occaſions he acquitted himſelf ſo happily, that "the king formed the higheſt ideas of his capacity and fu-"ture

CHAP. I. A. D. 1728. little care that had been taken of his education, very early diſcovered a ſtrong propenſity to literary purſuits, and alſo a great fondneſs for muſic, to which the king his father had an extreme averſion. The baron de Pollnitz, in a letter dated

" ture eminence. And thinking, perhaps with reaſon, that " active life was the nobleſt ſphere of a great genius, he " recommended to him the ſtudy of modern hiſtory, the " cuſtoms of nations, and thoſe parts of learning that are " of uſe in public tranſactions and civil employments, de- " claring, that ſuch abilities, properly cultivated, might " exalt him in ten years to be the greateſt miniſter of ſtate " in Europe." *Life of Barretier*, p. 17, 18. edit. 1744.

It is obſervable, that the account given of Frederick William by Voltaire, in his *Age of Lewis XV.* is very different from that given by him in the *Memoirs of his own Life*. In the former he ſays, that Pruſſia was no better than an extenſive deſart, at the acceſſion of Frederick William; but that he, " being poſſeſſed of talents ſuperior to thoſe of his con- " temporaries, expended about twenty-five millions of livres, " in clearing the lands, building villages, and peopling " them; he invited families from Suabia and Franconia; " and brought 16,000 emigrants from Saltſbourg to ſettle " in his territories, furniſhing them with neceſſaries of all " ſorts. While he was thus buſied in eſtabliſhing a new " kingdom, by ſingular oeconomy, he became maſter of " another ſpecies of power; every month he laid up in re- " ſerve 40,000 crowns, which in a reign of twenty years, " amounted to an immenſe ſum of money. What money " was not ſent to the treaſury, was employed in raiſing an " army of ſeventy thouſand choice men, whom he diſci- " plined himſelf, but never employed." *Voltaire's Works*, tranſlated from the French, vol. XXXVII. p. 50, 51, edit. 12mo. 1774.

June

June 6, 1729, says of him, "This young prince "is handsome, charms every one by his kindness "and good-nature, and loves reading, music, the "arts, and magnificence [F]." It appears to have been the year before this, that he began to learn to play on the German flute. Dr. Burney informs us, that in 1728, he was taught to play on that instrument by the celebrated Quantz. On this account, says that ingenious writer, Quantz "was "obliged to go twice a year to Berlin, Ruppin, "or Rheinsberg, the several residences of his royal "scholar [11]." The prince, however, had been forbidden by his father not only to study and practise music, but even to hear it. But he was encouraged in his taste for music by the queen his mother. Dr. Burney says, "M. Quantz told me, "that it was the late queen-mother, who at this "time encouraged the prince in his favourite amuse-"ment, and who engaged musicians for his ser-"vice; but so necessary was secrecy in all these "negociations, that if the king his father had dis-

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[F] The baron has another passage respecting the prince-royal, which shews him not to have been endued with a prophetic spirit. "His sentiments," says he, "his behaviour, "and his actions, make it probable, that if he comes to the "crown, his reign will be one of those *mild* and *peaceable* "reigns, which procure kings the love of their people, "wherein consists their true glory." Memoirs, vol. I. p. 27.

[11] Present state of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, &c. vol. II. p. 194. second edition.

CHAP. I. A. D. 1730. "covered that he was disobeyed, all these sons of "Apollo would have incurred the danger of being "hanged. The prince frequently took occasion "to meet his musicians a hunting, and had his "concerts either in a forest or cavern [n]."

WHETHER it was the discouragement that he received from his father on account of his love of literature and music, or whether it proceeded from any other cause, it is certain, that, in the year 1730, the prince royal of Prussia resolved to quit his father's dominions privately, and to travel either into France or England [o]. He was to have been accom-

[n] Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, &c. vol. II. p. 139.

[o] Voltaire, after speaking of the rigorous treatment which the prince received from the king, says, that the former, 'weary of the attentions of so kind a father, determined 'one fine morning, in 1730, to elope, without well knowing whether he would fly to France or England. Paternal 'economy had deprived him of the power of travelling in 'the style of son and heir to a farmer-general, or even an 'English tradesman, and he was obliged to borrow a few 'hundred ducats. Two young gentlemen, both very amiable, one named Katte, the other Keite, were to accompany him. Katte was the only son of a brave general officer, and Keite had married the daughter of the baroness 'of Kniphausen.—The day and hour were appointed; the 'father was informed of the whole affair; and the prince, 'and his two travelling companions, were all three put under 'an arrest.' *Memoirs*, p. 21, 22, 23.

Dr.

accompanied by three officers, to whom he had communicated his project. But his design being discovered, the execution of it was prevented; and the officers, who had joined with him in the scheme, were prosecuted with great severity. Of the manner of the proceedings against them, the accounts are somewhat different. One writer says, that 'his 'Prussian majesty appointed a council of war, to 'inquire into the conduct of these officers, which 'assembled at Koppenick, a small town near Ber-'lin. One of these officers was cashiered, and 'condemned to three years imprisonment; another,

CHAP. I. A. D. 1730.

Dr. Johnson says, that 'it is generally believed, that the 'prince's intention was to come to England, and live under 'the protection of his uncle, till his father's death, or 'change of conduct, should give him liberty to return.' *Memoirs of the King of Prussia, written in 1756, and printed in Davies's collection of Miscellaneous and Fugitive Pieces*, p. 97.

To the account before given, Voltaire adds, 'The king 'believed at first, that the princess Wilhelmina, his daugh-'ter, who was afterwards married to the Prince Margrave of 'Bareith, was concerned in the plot: and as he was remark-'able for dispatch in the executive branch of justice, he 'proceeded to kick her out of a large window, which open-'ed from the floor to the cieling. The queen-mother, who 'was present at this exploit, with great difficulty saved her, 'by catching hold of her petticoats, at the moment she was 'making her leap. The princess received a contusion on 'her left breast, which remained with her during life, as a 'mark of paternal affection, and which she did me the ho-'nour to shew me.' *Memoirs*, p. 23, 24.

CHAP. I. A. D. 1730.

'being retired into foreign countries [H], was out-'lawed; but the votes were divided with regard to 'young Katte, part of the judges finding him guilty 'of death, and the others being of a contrary opi-'nion; ſo that they were obliged to leave the de-'ciſion of it to the king [13].' Dr. Johnſon ſays, that Katte 'was ordered to be tried for a capital crime. 'The court examined the cauſe, and acquitted 'him; the king remanded him to a ſecond trial, 'and obliged his judges to condemn him [14].' Whatever might be the mode of the proceedings againſt them, it is certain that Katte, who was a young lieutenant in the gens d'arms, was ordered by Frederick William to be beheaded. But as his offence was certainly not of a very heinous kind, he naturally entertained hopes of obtaining a pardon; and accordingly wrote a letter to the king in the German language, of which the following is a tranſlation:

'Sire,

'It is neither to juſtify myſelf, nor to excuſe 'my paſt conduct, nor to prove my innocence,

[H] Voltaire, who mentions only two officers as being concerned in this tranſaction, ſays, that Keite 'fled into Hol-'land, whither the king diſpatched his military meſſengers 'to ſeize him. He eſcaped merely by a minute, embarked 'for Portugal, and there remained till the death of the moſt 'clement Frederick William.' *Memoirs, ut ſupra*, p. 27.

[13] Hiſtory of Pruſſia, during the reign of Frederick William, ut ſupra, p. 420, 421.

[14] Memoirs of the King of Pruſſia, p. 98,

'that I have the honour to addreſs this letter to 'your majeſty; but, moved by a ſincere repentance, 'and hearty ſorrow, for having offended you, I 'implore your clemency, and moſt humbly beſeech 'you, ſire, to have ſome conſideration for my age; 'which makes me more capable of imprudence 'and folly, than of any bad deſign: and, perhaps, 'my inconſiderate zeal has been the only cauſe of 'my crime. CHAP. I. A. D. 1730.

'God, who is the King of kings, and Lord of 'lords, does not always follow the impulſes of his 'juſtice towards ſinners; but often reclaims thoſe, 'who have gone aſtray, by his mercy. And will 'not your majeſty, ſire, who are a reſemblance of 'the Divinity, pardon a criminal, who is guilty 'of diſobedience to his ſovereign? The hope of 'pardon ſupports me; and I flatter myſelf, that 'your majeſty will not cut me off in the flower of 'my age, but rather give me time to prove to 'you, what effect your majeſty's clemency will 'have on me. I feel myſelf animated with a zeal 'and fidelity, proof againſt all temptations, for 'your ſervice.

'Will not a ſincere acknowledgment of my fault 'be able to procure my pardon? Yes, ſire, I own 'I am very guilty. And will not your majeſty 'grant me a pardon, which God never refuſes to 'the greateſt ſinner, who ſincerely confeſſes his ſins 'to him? Saul was guilty of diſobedience to God, 'David fell into various ſins, and Manaſſes was

CHAP. I. A. D. 1730.

'immerſed in the moſt heinous crimes; and yet 'they are nevertheleſs ſo many examples of God's 'mercy to thoſe who repent.

'I ſhall be always ready to ſhed even the laſt 'drop of my blood, to ſhew your majeſty, what 'faithful and grateful ſentiments your clemency 'can raiſe in me; and ſhall willingly ſacrifice a life 'in your ſervice, which I ſhall be indebted to you 'for, and which I ſhall only hold from you. Cha- 'rity, ſire, and the compaſſion of God, which aſ- 'ſures me he will not refuſe me his pardon, do not 'ſuffer me to deſpair of your majeſty's being pleaſed 'to lend an ear to the moſt humble ſupplication 'of a ſubject, who has rebelled, but who has been 'brought back to his duty by a ſincere repen- 'tance [15].'

THIS letter of the amiable, but unfortunate young lieutenant, made no impreſſion on the unfeeling Frederick William. Applications were afterwards made to the king in his favour, by perſons of the firſt quality, but without any effect. Lieutenant Katte was beheaded in the beginning of the month of November, 1730, and died with great reſolution [16]. The prince-royal himſelf was confined in the citadel of Cuſtrin [1]; and it was at

[15] Hiſtory of Pruſſia, during the reign of Frederick William, p. 421, 422. [16] Ibid. p. 426.

[1] Voltaire ſays, that 'the king ſent him to the citadel 'of Cuſtrin, which was ſituated in the midſt of a marſh.

at this place that Katte was beheaded, the prince being compelled to be a ſpectator of the execution [K]. The unfortunate officer appears to have had a very pious education, and to have been poſſeſſed of excellent qualities; and Dr. Johnſon ſays, that he left 'behind him ſome papers of reflexions 'made in the priſon, which were afterwards print-'ed; and, among others, an admonition to the 'prince for whoſe ſake he ſuffered, not to foſter 'in himſelf the opinion of deſtiny, for that a pro-'vidence is diſcoverable in every thing round us [17].'

CHAP. I. A. D. 1730.

'Here he was ſhut up, without a ſingle ſervant, for the ſpace 'of ſix months, in a ſort of dungeon, at the end of which 'time he was allowed a ſoldier as an attendant.' *Memoirs*, p. 25. The ſoldier who attended him, whoſe name was FREDERSTORF, was afterwards taken into his ſervice, and became his valet de chambre, and favourite.

[K] The author of the *Hiſtory of Pruſſia, during the reign of Frederick William*, informs us, that the ſentence was 'ex-'ecuted in the ſight of the prince-royal, who could not for-'bear ſhedding tears, at this young gentleman's untimely 'fate.' But Voltaire ſays farther, that 'the prince had 'been ſome weeks in his palace at Cuſtrin, when one day 'an old officer, followed by four grenadiers, entered his 'chamber, weeping. Frederick had no doubt he was go-'ing to be made a head ſhorter; but the officer, ſtill in tears, 'ordered the grenadiers to take him to the window, and 'hold his head out of it, that he might be obliged to look 'on the execution of his friend Katte, upon a ſcaffold ex-'preſsly built there for that purpoſe. He ſaw, ſtretched out 'his hand, and fainted. The father was preſent at this ex-'hibition.' *Memoirs*, p. 26, 27.

[17] Memoirs of the King of Pruſſia, p. 98.

CHAP. I. A. D. 1730.

FREDERICK WILLIAM was ſo much exaſperated at the deſign of his ſon to quit his dominions, that, not content with the execution of Katte, he is ſaid to have intended to put the prince himſelf to death [L]. The emperor of Germany, however,

[L] Voltaire informs us, that the king's 'deſign was, to 'have beheaded the prince. He conſidered, that he had 'three other ſons, not one of whom wrote verſes, and that 'they were ſufficient to ſuſtain the Pruſſian grandeur. Mea'ſures had been already concerted to make him ſuffer, as the 'czarowitz, eldeſt ſon to Peter the great, had ſuffered be'fore. It is not exceedingly clear, from any known laws, 'human or divine, that a young man ſhould have his head 'ſtruck off, becauſe he had a wiſh to travel. But his ma'jeſty had found judges in Pruſſia, equally as learned and 'equitable as the Ruſſian expounders of law. Beſides that 'his own paternal authority, in a caſe of need, would at any 'time ſuffice. The emperor Charles the Sixth, however, 'pretended, that the prince royal, as a prince of the empire, 'could not ſuffer condemnation but in a full diet; and ſent 'the count de Seckendorff to the father, in order to make 'very ſerious remonſtrances on that ſubject. The count de 'Seckendorff, whom I have ſince known in Saxony, where 'he lives retired, has declared to me, it was with very great 'difficulty indeed, that he could prevail with the king not 'to behead the prince. This is the ſame Seckendorff, who 'has commanded the armies of Bavaria, and of whom the 'prince, when he came to the throne, drew a hideous por'trait, in the hiſtory of his father, which he inſerted in 'ſome thirty copies of his *Memoires de Brandebourg*. Who 'would not, after this, ſerve princes, and prevent tyrants 'from cutting off their heads?' Memoirs, p. 30.

The

ever, interpoſed in his favour; and, by degrees, the wrath of his Pruſſian majeſty was ſomewhat abated. But about the ſame time that a diſcovery was made of the prince's intended elopement, intelligence was alſo communicated to the king of an intrigue, or ſuppoſed intrigue, between the prince and a young lady at Potſdam. According to Voltaire's account, ſhe was the daughter of a ſchoolmaſter, and had a taſte for muſic. Frederick William ordered her to be ſeized, and publicly whipped through the ſtreets of Berlin [M]; and of this cere-

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The character of count Seckendorff, as it now ſtands in the *Memoirs of the Houſe of Brandenburgh*, is as follows: 'George II. had ſcarcely aſcended the Britiſh throne, when 'count Seckendorff came to Berlin. This man ſerved, at 'one and the ſame time, in the Imperial and Saxon troops; 'to the moſt ſordid intereſtedneſs, he united the coarſeſt and 'moſt ruſtic manners; he was by habit ſo enured to lying, 'as to have loſt all ſenſe of truth. His ſoul was that of an 'uſurer, ſometimes animating the body of a ſoldier, and 'ſometimes that of a negociator. This man, however, pro'vidence thought fit to employ to break the treaty of Ha'nover.' Vol. II. p. 70. If Seckendorff really rendered to the prince-royal of Pruſſia, the important ſervice which Voltaire has ſtated, he certainly has not ſhewn a very grateful remembrance of it in the character which he has given of him. But it has been aſſerted, as has been before obſerved in the text, that Seckendorff was ſuſpected of having fomented the miſunderſtanding between the prince-royal and his father. *Vid. Hiſtory of Pruſſia, during the reign of Frederick William*, p. 420.

[M] According to the repreſentation given by Voltaire, the prince-royal, when he afterwards came to the throne, did

CHAP. I. A. D. 1730. ceremony the prince himſelf was compelled to be a ſpectator. The king himſelf alſo attended on the occaſion [18].

AFTER the prince-royal had been ſome time cloſely confined at Cuſtrin, the king was prevailed upon, partly by the intreaties of the queen, to allow him greater liberty, and to ſend to him a notification of his pardon [N]. It was, however, ſtill

did not behave very liberally to the unfortunate female who had ſuffered thus publickly on his account. He ſays, that Frederick allowed her a penſion of ſeventy crowns a year, and that ſhe married the clerk of the Hackney-coach-office at Berlin. *Memoirs*, p. 98.

[18] Memoirs of Voltaire, p. 24, 25.

[N] The writer of the *Hiſtory of Pruſſia, during the reign of Frederick William*, ſays, that 'the lieutenant-generals 'Grumkow, Borck, and Boden, the major-generals Boden-'broeck and Glaſenap, and the colonels Derſchau and Wal-'dau, with M. Thulemeyer, privy counſellor of ſtate, went 'to Cuſtrin, and notified to the prince-royal, that the king, 'out of a paternal motive, and regard to the moſt moving 'letter of interceſſion, which the emperor had wrote to him 'with his own hand, was pleaſed to pardon him; and they 'afterwards declared to the prince his majeſty's orders. The 'prince-royal received them with ſubmiſſion, and expreſſed 'great joy on being received into favour again by the king 'his father; and took from the hands of M. Thulemeyer a 'copy of the *new oath*, which he was to examine, and keep 'by him twenty-four hours, according to his majeſty's or-'ders. The Sunday following, his royal highneſs was con-'ducted by the commiſſioners into preſident Muncho's apart-'ment, where lieutenant-general Lopel, in the king's name, 'returned him his ſword, and they fixed the croſs of the 'order

ſtill required of him, that he ſhould continue to reſide at Cuſtrin [o]; but a magnificent houſe was furniſhed for him there; and it is ſaid, that he "was preſent at all the conferences of the regency "and chamber of the New March, to inform "himſelf thoroughly of the affairs of the interior "country [19].' But on the 15th of Auguſt, 1731, the king went himſelf in perſon to Cuſtrin, in order to have an interview with his ſon, and to be formally reconciled to him. He was accompanied by general Grumkow; and, on his arrival at Cuſtrin, he alighted at the houſe of major-general Lopel, governor of the place. He ſent for the prince-royal, who immediately came, and threw

CHAP. I. A. D. 1731.

'order on his clothes. M. Thulemeyer, after this, read the 'oath with a loud voice, which the prince, who knew it by 'heart, repeated very diſtinctly, word for word, and ſigned 'with his own hand; and, as ſoon as this was done, they 'diſpatched a courier to the king, and then went to church 'to return thanks to God, which the prince did with great 'devotion and humility.' P. 426, 427.

[o] Count Hertzberg informs us, that at Cuſtrin the prince "was obliged to labour in the Chamber of Finances, "as a Counſellor of war, which was in its conſequences "very beneficial to him." *Mémoire Hiſtorique ſur la derniere année de la vie de Frederick*, &c. p. 11. During his reſidence at Cuſtrin, he alſo correſponded with general Grumkow on affairs of government; and count Hertzberg ſays, that a very intereſting volume of letters, which paſſed between the prince and the general at that period, is ſtill preſerved. *Ibid.*

[19] Hiſtory of Pruſſia, p. 427.

him-

CHAP. I. A. D. 1731. himſelf at his father's feet. "The king," we are told, "raiſed the prince up, and converſed with "him, for near an hour, with a truly paternal ten- "derneſs, after which his majeſty went with his "royal highneſs into the hall, where the nobility "and regency were aſſembled. The prince-royal, "at parting with the king, conducted him to his "coach, renewed his ſubmiſſions, and wiſhed his "majeſty a long life and happy reign; who aſſured "him of his whole affection, and embraced him "with great tenderneſs [o]." He afterwards went privately to Berlin, where he had an affectionate interview with the queen his mother [p].

[o] Hiſtory of Pruſſia, p. 428.

[p] We are informed, that ſome time after his interview with his father, 'as they were celebrating, at Berlin, the 'nuptials of the prince of Brandenburgh-Bareith, who had 'married the princeſs-royal of Pruſſia, the prince-royal came 'thither *incognito* from Cuſtrin, and entered into the apart- 'ment, where they were keeping the feſtival, without any 'body's knowing him; the clothes he had on giving him 'another air than what he had formerly; and being, be- 'ſides, grown very much during his ſtay at Cuſtrin. The 'queen herſelf did not know him, till the dear prince came 'and embraced her, with equal tranſports of joy and re- 'ſpect.' *Hiſt. of Pruſſia*, p. 428. Voltaire ſays, that the prince was confined at Cuſtrin eighteen months. Memoirs, p. 30.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The prince-royal of Pruſſia, after his reconciliation with his father, applies himſelf cloſely to his ſtudies. —His marriage.—Accompanies his father in a journey to the imperial camp.—Correſponds with Voltaire.—Makes a tour to Holland.—Becomes a free-maſon.—Baron Bielfeld's deſcription of his perſon and manners.—Account of his court at Rheinſberg, and character of his wife, the princeſs royal.—The prince patronizes men of letters, and profeſſors of the fine arts.—His correſpondence with M. Suhm, envoy from the court of Dreſden to the courts of Berlin and Peterſburgh.

CHAP. II. A. D. 1732.

AFTER the prince-royal of Pruſſia was in ſome degree reſtored to the favour of his father, he ſeems chiefly to have reſided at Rheinſberg. He appears, however, ſtill to have been under ſome kind of diſcountenance, and did not frequently appear at court. But this was eventually no diſadvantage to him, as it led him to apply himſelf more aſſiduouſly to his ſtudies: a circumſtance to which he was probably indebted for much of his future greatneſs [q]. Polite literature,

[q] Dr. Johnſon obſerves, that 'the ſtudies of princes 'ſeldom produce great effects, for princes draw with meaner 'mortals the lot of underſtanding; and ſince of many ſtudents 'not more than one can be hoped to advance far towards per-'fection, it is ſcarcely to be expected that we ſhould find 'that

CHAP. II. A. D. 1733. ture, the mathematics, and muſic, were diligently cultivated by him; and his general conduct at this period appears to have been very amiable. But on the 12th of June, 1733 [21], he was compelled by his father to marry Elizabeth Chriſtina, princeſs of Brunſwick Wolfenbüttle, niece to the empreſs of Germany. To this marriage he was ſo averſe, that though he ſubmitted to the ceremony, he refuſed to cohabit with the princeſs, and adhered to that reſolution to the end of his life.

A. D. 1734. IN 1734, the king of Pruſſia having ordered 10,000 of his troops to march to the Rhine, to act in favour of the emperor againſt the French,

'that one a prince; that the deſire of ſcience ſhould over-'power in any mind the love of pleaſure, when it is always 'preſent, or always within call; that laborious meditation 'ſhould be preferred in the days of youth to amuſements and 'feſtivity; or that perſeverance ſhould preſs forward in con-'tempt of flattery; and that he in whom moderate acquiſi-'tions would be extolled as prodigies, ſhould exact from 'himſelf that excellence of which the whole world conſpires 'to ſave him the neceſſity. In every great performance, 'perhaps in every great character, part is the effect of na-'ture, part the contribution of accident, and part, very 'often not the greateſt part, the effect of voluntary election, 'and regular deſign. The king of Pruſſia was undoubtedly 'born with more than common abilities; but that he culti-'vated them with more than common diligence, was proba-'bly the effect of his peculiar condition, of that which he 'then conſidered as cruelty and misfortune.' Memoirs of the King of Pruſſia, ut ſupra, p. 99, 100.

[21] Hiſtory of Pruſſia, p. 475.

he

he repaired himſelf to the imperial camp, accompanied by the prince-royal. His deſign was, to take a view of the army, and to attend to the operations of prince Eugene, who commanded the army of the emperor. But they had not an opportunity of ſeeing any great diſplay of the military talents of that illuſtrious general. He was now far advanced in years; and ſeemed unwilling to hazard, by a doubtful action, the great reputation that he had acquired. Philipſburg was taken by the French; and they were ſo ably commanded, firſt by the duke of Berwick, and after his death by marſhal D'Aſfeld, that the campaign terminated, without prince Eugene being able to obtain any advantage over them. CHAP. II. A. D. 1734.

AFTER his return, the prince-royal continued to apply himſelf cloſely to his ſtudies at Rheinſberg [R], where ſeveral men of letters paid their court

[R] The following deſcription is given of RHEINSBERG, by baron Bielfeld, in a letter dated October 30, 1739. 'This is a ſmall, but very pleaſing city, although ſituated 'in a moſt barren ſand, on the frontiers of Mecklenbourg. 'It contains about a thouſand inhabitants, and was formerly 'the property of a French refugee gentleman. The king has 'purchaſed it, and given it to the prince-royal, with the 'caſtle, the gardens, the foreſts, and ſome lands that are de-'pendent on it. The caſtle was, in a manner, in ruins, 'and there was ſcarcely any garden, when the prince ob-'tained the gift; and which is the more valuable to him, as 'his regiment is in garriſon at Ruppin, which is but ſix 'miles from hence, and in this country the garriſons never 'change.

CHAP. II. A. D. 1734. court to him. But their attendance there was far from being pleasing to the king. 'He appre-

'hended,'

'change. The situation of the castle itself is very fine. An 'immense lake bathes almost its foundations; and, on the 'opposite side, a beautiful forest of oaks and beech rises in 'form of an amphitheatre. The antient building consisted 'of only one range of rooms, with a wing terminated by an 'old tower. This edifice, and its situation, gave to the 'prince-royal an opportunity of displaying his genius and 'his taste; and to baron Knobelstorff, intendant of the build-'ings, his talent for architecture. The main body was re-'paired, and embellished externally with arched windows, 'and very elegant statues and ornaments; another wing and 'tower are added, which correspond with the old ones; and 'the two towers are connected by a double colonnade, on 'the platform of which is a gallery of communication, that 'is ornamented with vases and groups of infants. By this 'arrangement the whole building now forms an exact square. 'We are led to it by a bridge decorated with statues, repre-'senting the seven planets, and which each holds in his hand 'a lamp in form of a globe. To enter the inner court, we 'pass under a noble portal, over which is the following in-'scription, engraved by order of M. Knobelstorff, *Frederico 'Tranquilitatem colenti*. The inside of this palace still ex-'cells the outside, as well in the beauty and distribution of 'the apartments, as in the taste and richness of the furni-'ture. Which way soever the eye turns, it is struck with a 'profusion of gilding and carving: all these ornaments, 'however, are disposed with judgment and reserve, and the 'designs are highly admirable. As the prince admires the 'tender colours only, there are several apartments furnished 'in gridelin, sea green, and flesh colour, the mouldings and 'ornaments of which are of silver. All these form a very 'pleasing diversity, and give this palace an air equally gay

'and

'hended,' says baron Bielfeld, 'that their conver- CHAP. II. A. D. 1735.
'versation tended to promote that predominant

'and noble. The most elegant apartment, which is not yet 'finished, but on which they are incessantly labouring, is a 'superb hall, completely lined with factitious marble, and 'ornamented with mirrours and bronzes. The celebrated 'Pesne is now engaged in painting the cieling; it represents 'the rising of the sun; on one side, night covered with her 'veils, surrounded by her gloomy birds, and followed by 'the hours, retires, and makes room for Aurora, who is re- 'presented under the figure of Venus, is attended by the 'morning star, and occupies the center of the piece: we 'next see the white horses that draw the chariot of Apollo, 'and the rays of that god just appear. This subject is alle- 'goric, and seems to allude to an epoch that, perhaps, is 'not far distant.'

'The gardens of Rheinsberg, which extend the length of 'the whole lake, are not yet arrived to maturity; for it is 'but a few years since their commencement. The plan is 'great and beautiful; time must do the rest. The principal 'alley is terminated by an obelisk covered with Egyptian hie- 'roglyphics. There are delightful groves, and verdant sa- 'loons and bowers, very happily disposed. The prince is 'building a superb orangery, in a taste perfectly new, after 'the design of Mr. Knobelstorff. The ground is also laying 'out for planting, the next year, a labyrinth, which is to 'lead to the temple of Bacchus, placed in the center. Twelve 'satyrs, of gigantic stature, serve for columns to this temple, 'and sustain the dome, which is in form of an inverted 'punch-bowl. All the avenues are planted with ivy, vines, 'yews, and cypress. Two handsome barges, built by the 'prince's order, float upon the lake, ready to carry those 'who love excursions upon the water, or that are desirous of 'going to the forest, which is called the *Boubero*.' Letters, vol. III. p. 74—79.

CHAP. II. A. D. 1736.

'passion for study, which appeared in the prince: 'and though he was the father, and of a penetrating disposition, he knew not the soul of Cæsar. 'He could not conceive that a genius, which was 'capable of painting victories, was capable of obtaining them [22].'

As the prince was very fond of French literature, he was much attached to the works of VOLTAIRE, and commenced a correspondence with him. His first letter to that celebrated writer, of which the following is a translation, was dated the 8th of August, 1736.

'SIR,

'Though I have not the satisfaction of your personal acquaintance, you are well known to me by 'your works. If you will allow me the expression, 'they are treasures of wit, pieces wrought with 'such exquisite taste, that every perusal discovers 'new beauties. I fancy that in them I can trace 'the character of their ingenious author, who does 'honour to human nature.

'Should ever the dispute concerning the superiority of the antients be renewed; the great men 'of modern times will be obliged to you, and to 'you only, for turning the balance in their favour.

'To an excellent poetical genius, you add a 'fund of varied knowledge, which, in truth, has

[22] Letters of Baron Bielfeld, translated by Hooper, vol. III. p. 121.

'some

'ſome affinity with poetry, but never was appro-
'priated to it, except by your pen. Never before
'did poet reduce metaphyſical thoughts to ca-
'dence; that honour was reſerved for M. de Vol-
'taire. The taſte for philoſophy diſplayed in your
'writings, has induced me to ſend you the accu-
'ſation and defence of M. Wolfius, which has
'been tranſlated by my direction. That gentle-
'man, the moſt celebrated philoſopher of our age,
'has thrown light upon the darkeſt parts of me-
'taphyſics [s]; and becauſe he has treated theſe
'difficult ſubjects in a manner equally ſublime,
'exact, and elegant, he is cruelly accuſed of Atheiſm.
'Such is the deſtiny of great men: their ſuperior
'genius is always expoſed to the envenomed ſhafts
'of calumny and envy.

'I have given orders for the tranſlation of ano-
'ther work, by the ſame author, entitled, *A Trea-*
'*tiſe of God, the Soul, and the World.* I ſhall ſend
'it to you as ſoon as it is finiſhed, and I have not
'the leaſt doubt but that you will be ſtruck by the
'ſtrong evidence of each of his propoſitions, which
'follow in a geometrical order, and are connected
'like the links of a chain.

'The kindneſs and ſupport you ſhew yourſelf
'ready to beſtow on all who devote themſelves

[s] If Voltaire may be credited, Frederick did not afterwards think ſo highly of the productions of Wolfius: for he informs us, that he ſtiled him "a compiler of traſh [23]."

[23] Memoirs of Voltaire, p. 30.

CHAP. II. A. D. 1736.

'to the arts and ſciences, make me hope, that 'you will not exclude me from the number of 'thoſe you think worthy of your inſtructions. I 'call your correſpondence by that name, which 'cannot fail of being profitable to every thinking 'being. I even dare affirm, without derogating 'from the merit of any man, that there is ſcarcely 'an individual in the univerſe, who might not, 'with juſtice, own you to be his maſter. Without 'laviſhing incenſe unworthy of being offered to 'you, I can ſafely ſay, that your works abound 'with numberleſs beauties. Your *Henriade* charms 'me, and happily triumphs over the injudicious '*critique* by which it has been attacked. Your 'tragedy of *Cæſar* preſents us with a ſet of cha- 'racters well ſupported. The ſentiments are uni- 'formly grand and ſublime: we feel that Brutus 'is either a Roman, or an Engliſhman.

'To the graces of novelty, *Alzira* joins a happy 'contraſt between the Savage and European man- 'ners. In the character of *Guſman*, you ſhew, 'that Chriſtianity, ill underſtood, and under the 'guidance of miſtaken zeal, inſpires the heart with 'more barbarous ferocity than Paganiſm itſelf. 'Corneille, the great Corneille, who attracted the 'univerſal admiration of his age, were he to riſe 'from the dead in our days, would behold with 'wonder, and perhaps not without a mixture of 'envy, the Goddeſs laviſh thoſe favours upon you, 'which ſhe beſtowed upon him with a ſparing 'hand:

'hand:—what may not be expected from the au- CHAP. II. A. D. 1736.
'thor of ſo many maſter-pieces! What new won-
'ders will not flow from that pen, which formerly,
'with ſuch wit and elegance, traced out *the Temple*
'*of Taſte!*

'This makes me ſo ardently deſire the poſſeſſion
'of all your works. I entreat you, Sir, to ſend
'them, and to communicate the whole without re-
'ſerve. Should there be any manuſcript, that, by
'a neceſſary circumſpection, you may think pro-
'per to keep from the public eye, I promiſe to
'conceal it in the boſom of ſecrecy, and to content
'myſelf with admiring it in private. Unhappily,
'I am ſenſible, that, in our days, no great truſt
'is repoſed in the faith of princes: however, I
'hope, you will not ſuffer yourſelf to be miſled by
'general prejudices, but make an exception to the
'rule in my favour.

'I ſhould think myſelf richer in the poſſeſſion
'of your works, than if I were maſter of all the
'periſhing and contemptible gifts of fortune, which
'the ſame blind chance confers and takes away.

'Your works may be made our own by the help
'of memory, and till that fails they will remain.—
'Senſible of the ſmall extent of mine, I balance
'a long time before I determine what deſerves a
'place in it.

'If poeſy were ſtill upon the former footing;—
'if its writers could only trill tireſome idylls, ec-
'logues caſt in an unvaried mould, inſipid ſtanzas,

CHAP. II. A. D. 1736.

'or at moſt, could only tune their lyre to elegiac 'notes, I would renounce it for ever; but in your 'hand the art is ennobled; you have pointed out 'to us new paths, and traced a route unknown to '* * * and * * *.

'Your performances command reſpect: they 'deſerve to be admired and ſtudied by men of 'ſenſe and taſte. They form a compleat ſyſtem 'of morals, by which the world may learn to think 'and to act.—Virtue is painted in the moſt ami- 'able colours.—The idea of true glory is fixed, 'and a taſte for the ſciences inſpired in a manner 'ſo refined and delicate, that whoever reads your 'works muſt feel an ambition to imitate them.— 'How often have I ſaid to myſelf, *Attempt not a 'burthen too heavy for your ſtrength; Voltaire can 'be imitated only by a Voltaire!* Thoſe are the mo- 'ments in which I feel how vain and empty are 'the advantages of birth: thoſe ſounds, the marks 'of diſtinctions foreign to ourſelves, and only or- 'namental to the outſide.—How preferable to 'thoſe are the talents of genius!

'What do we not owe to thoſe men, whom na- 'ture diſtinguiſhed at their formation; whom ſhe 'delighted to furniſh with a capacity neceſſary to 'make a proficiency in the arts, and whoſe vigils 'it is the duty of princes to recompenſe? Ah! 'why cannot I be the glorious inſtrument of crown- 'ing your ſucceſs? I ſhould only be apprehenſive, 'that this rude climate could not furniſh ſo many

'laurels

'laurels as your works deſerve. Should deſtiny be ſo unfavourable as to deny me the happineſs of making you my own, at leaſt may I hope one day to ſee the man whom I have ſo long admired at a diſtance, and to aſſure you in perſon, that with all the eſteem and conſideration due to thoſe, who, guided by the light of truth, conſecrate their labours to the public utility,

'I am, &c. [24]'

CHAP. II. A. D. 1736.

THIS letter may be conſidered as an extraordinary production for a prince; and ſhews how much ſuperior his intellectual attainments were to thoſe of the generality of princes. But his admiration of VOLTAIRE was exceſſive; and it was, perhaps, a misfortune, both to himſelf, and to the world, that he ſhould ſo early become the zealous diſciple of a writer, who was as much diſtinguiſhed by the pernicious ſcepticiſm of his productions, as by the brilliancy of his wit, and the originality of his genius. From him, however, he probably derived that attachment to the principles of religious toleration, which he manifeſted throughout his whole reign, and which was in the higheſt degree beneficial to his ſubjects.

AMONG other perſons of a literary taſte, with whom the prince-royal of Pruſſia connected himſelf, one was M. ULRIC FREDERICK DE SUHM,

[24] Hiſtorical Memoirs of the Author of the Henriade, tranſlated from the French, 8vo. 1777. Lond. p. 24, 25, &c.

CHAP. II. A. D. 1736. privy-counſellor to the elector of Saxony, who was ſent as envoy extraordinary to the court of Berlin, a ſtation in which he continued about ten years. The prince was not more than eight years of age when M. Suhm arrived at Berlin; and when, ſome years after, a great friendſhip for the Saxon miniſter was manifeſted by the prince, the intercourſe between them excited a conſiderable jealouſy in Frederick William. M. Suhm and the prince often paſſed much time together, in diſcourſing on ſubjects of literature and philoſophy, and their converſations were ſometimes extended to a very late hour of the night. This gave the more offence to the king, becauſe M. Suhm was a great admirer of WOLFIUS, of the tendency of whoſe writings Frederick William had conceived a very unfavourable opinion. The diſlike of the king to M. Suhm ſeems to have occaſioned his recall to Dreſden: but the prince had formed ſo ſtrong an attachment to him, that his removal did not prevent the continuance of their correſpondence.

IN 1736, M. Suhm undertook, at the deſire of the prince, to tranſlate into the French language the METAPHYSICS of WOLFIUS. The original was in German; and it was a circumſtance ſomewhat ſingular, that a German prince ſhould be ſo extremely ſolicitous, as Frederick appears to have been, to read the work of Wolfius, not in the original, but in a French tranſlation. But the prince-royal of Pruſſia had very early conceived a great pre-

prejudice againſt his native language. Suhm's translation was ſent, ſheet by ſheet, incloſed in his letters; and much of the correſpondence which has been publiſhed, between him and the prince, was upon this ſubject. In one of the prince's letters, dated at Ruppin, April 27, 1736, is the following paſſage: "I ſtudy Wolfius with great application, and I form myſelf more and more to "his manner of thinking, which is very juſt and "profound [25]." In another letter, ſpeaking of Wolfius, he ſays, "I admire the great profundity "of this celebrated philoſopher, who has ſtudied "nature as no perſon before has ever done, and "who has attained to an ability of aſſigning rea"ſons for things, which heretofore were not only "obſcure and confuſed, but even totally unintel"ligible. It ſeems to me, that I acquire every "day more light from him; and that at every pro"poſition that I ſtudy, a new ſcale falls from my "eyes. His work ought to be univerſally read, "in order to teach men to think, and to follow "the thread, or the connexion of ideas, in the "ſearch after truth [26]."

CHAP. II. A. D. 1736.

THE ſame year a French tranſlation was publiſhed of the LOGIC of Wolfius by M. Deſchamps [T], with

[25] Correſpondance familiere et amicale de Frederick Roi de Pruſſe avec U. F. de Suhm, Conſeiller, &c. Tom. I. p. 23. Amſt. 1787. 12mo. [26] Ibid. p. 39.

[T] JOHN DESCHAMPS was ſon to a clergyman at Berlin, and having been himſelf educated for the miniſtry, had preached

as

CHAP. II. A. D. 1736. with a moſt flattering dedication to the prince-royal of Pruſſia. But this adulation did not meet with a very favourable reception from Frederick. In a letter to M. Suhm, the prince ſays, 'I confeſs to you, my dear DIAPHANES [u], that the 'dedication of M. Deſchamps appears to me extremely inſipid. It is not ſo much offering incenſe, as flinging the cenſer at one's head. Thus 'to praiſe a perſon, with whom he acknowledges 'he is not acquainted, is to write a panegyric on a 'hero of romance; on an imaginary being, that 'exiſts no where but in the writer's brain. Had 'this dedication been prefixed to a tragedy, or an 'epic poem, an apology might have been made 'for the author, by alleging, that, inflamed with 'the ardours of poetry, he had been hurried away 'by a heated imagination, without having time to 'liſten to reaſon. But, by prefixing ſuch a dedi-'cation to a treatiſe on logic, the poor tranſlator

as a candidate in the church at Rheinſberg. He publiſhed a courſe of the Wolfian philoſophy, in the form of letters to a friend. But when Voltaire arrived at Berlin, after the acceſſion of Frederick III. he was attacked in a publication of Deſchamps's, which gave great offence to the king. Deſchamps was thereupon ridiculed in a comedy performed at court, and of which Frederick himſelf was ſuppoſed to be the author. With this circumſtance Deſchamps was ſo much affected, that he quitted his native country for ever, and went into England, where he became miniſter of the church in the Savoy. He died in 1760.

[u] DIAPHANES is a name given by Frederick to M. Suhm, and by which he generally addreſſed him in his letters.

'has

'has fallen, according to my apprehenſion, into 'an eſſential error, and ſhewn that he does not him- 'ſelf underſtand the art of reaſoning. When the 'tranſlator ſent it to me, I deſired that my thanks 'might be returned to him, for the excellent work 'that he had dedicated to me; but at the ſame 'time I informed him, that, ſenſible to the good 'wiſhes expreſſed in his dedication, I ſhould be 'ungrateful if I did not, for his own ſake, wiſh 'that he had entirely altered the ſtyle of it[26].' CHAP. II. A. D. 1736.

IT appears from a letter of the prince's to M. Suhm, dated from Berlin, June 22, 1737, that inſinuations had been thrown out to the king his father, that his highneſs had no religion; and that Frederick William at firſt gave credit to theſe inſinuations. But the prince at length pacified him, by his ſtrict attention to military diſcipline, and by procuring ſome tall ſoldiers. 'You know,' ſays Frederick, 'that the accuſation of irreligion 'is the laſt refuge of calumniators. After this, 'nothing farther can be ſaid. The king took fire; 'I kept myſelf cloſe; my regiment did wonders; 'and their dexterity in handling their arms, a little 'flour ſcattered on the ſoldiers heads, men above 'ſix feet high, together with a great many recruits, 'were arguments more powerful than thoſe of my 'accuſers. Every thing is now quiet, and I hear A. D. 1737.

[26] Correſpondance familiere et amicale de Frederick Roi de Pruſſe avec U. F. de Suhm, Conſeiller, &c. Tom. I. p. 70, 71.

'nothing

CHAP. II. A. D. 1737.

'nothing more either of religion, or my perſecu-
'tors [27].' In order to put his father in good humour, the prince occaſionally procured from abroad men of uncommon ſtature; and M. Suhm, who was now ſent as envoy from the court of Dreſden to that of Peterſburgh, was ſometimes employed as an agent for that purpoſe. Among others, he procured for him ſeveral very tall and handſome Turks [28].

IN a letter from M. Suhm to the prince, dated from Peterſburgh, Aug. 13, 1737, he gave him an account of the great exploits of count MUNICH, in the war which was then carrying on between the Ruſſians and the Turks. To this letter the prince returned an anſwer, in which is the following paſſage: 'I have received, my dear Diaphanes, your 'warlike letter, in which I ſee nothing but the tri-'umphs of count Munich, and the defeat of the 'Turks and Tartars. I confeſs to you, that I am 'one of thoſe perſons, who love to partake of the 'glory of others; and that, without philoſophy, I 'ſhould ſee with ſome uneaſineſs ſo many great 'actions, in which I have had no ſhare. Count 'MUNICH ſeems to be the Alexander of the age; 'he gains battles, with as much eaſe as they over-'turn houſes of cards; and conquers provinces 'with more rapidity than others paſs through them.

[27] Correſpondance familiere et amicale de Frederick Roi de Pruſſe avec U. F. de Suhm, Conſeiller, &c. Tom. II. p. 5, 6, 7.

[28] Ibid. p. 74, 80, 88, 96.

'It

'It is a happineſs to come into the world at a proper time and place, without which one can do nothing. The PRINCE OF ANHALT, who is, perhaps, the greateſt general of the age, continues in a ſtate of obſcurity; a misfortune of which no one but himſelf can be ſufficiently ſenſible: while others, who are greatly his inferiors, are become the arbiters of the earth. This evinces the truth of the remark that I am making, that it is not ſufficient merely to have merit, but one muſt be placed in a proper ſituation, in order to be enabled to exhibit it advantageouſly. The peaceable inhabitants of Rheinſberg are not ſo warlike; I am more employed in clearing lands, than in cutting the throats of men; and I find myſelf a thouſand times more happy in deſerving a civic crown, than a triumph. We are going to perform the OEDIPUS of Voltaire, in which I am to be the hero of the theatre. I have choſen the part of PHILOCTETES. One muſt content one ſelf with ſomething [29].' Notwithſtanding the prince's philoſophy, it is ſufficiently apparent from this letter, that he then wiſhed to perform a more important part on the theatre of the world. CHAP. II. A. D. 1737.

IN July, 1738, the king of Pruſſia, accompanied by the prince-royal, and attended by a numerous A. D. 1738.

[29] Correſpondance familiere et amicale, &c. ut ſupra, p. 16, 17, 18.

CHAP. II. A. D. 1738. merous retinue, made a tour to Holland, and paid a visit to the prince of Orange. It happened, that, at this time, a conversation took place at the prince of Orange's table, which occasioned the prince-royal of Prussia to become a free-mason. The subject of free-masonry being introduced, the king of Prussia spoke disadvantageously of that institution; upon which count Lippe, who was one of the company, avowed himself to be a free-mason, and zealously defended the fraternity of which he was a member. The prince-royal was so much pleased with what had been advanced by the count in favour of the institution, that he afterwards expressed to him, in confidence, his desire to become a member of the society; and added, that he wished to be admitted into it at Brunswick, at the time of the fair, which was then approaching, and at which his father had resolved to be present. His reason was, that the concourse of strangers at Brunswick at that time, would occasion less notice to be taken of the arrival of the other masons, who should attend there to form a lodge for the purpose [30]. The whole was adjusted agreeably to the prince's desire; and he was admitted into the society of free-masons, at Brunswick, in the middle of the month of August [v]. The prince was at this time in his

[30] Letters of Baron Bielfeld, vol. III. p. 30.

[v] The following particulars respecting the prince's admission, and his behaviour on the occasion, are related by Bielfeld.

his twenty-ſeventh year; and it was on this occaſion that he firſt became acquainted with M. Bielfeld, who was preſent at the ceremony, and whom he afterwards took into his ſervice, and created a baron: and who has given the following deſcription of the prince's perſon and manners at that time. 'He is not,' ſays he, 'of a remarkable ſtature; 'and would not have been choſen to have ruled 'in the place of Saul; but when we conſider the 'ſtrength and beauty of his genius, we cannot but 'deſire, for the proſperity of the people, to ſee him 'fill the throne of Pruſſia. His features are highly 'pleaſing, with a ſprightly look, and a noble air; 'and it depends altogether on himſelf to appear

CHAP. II. A. D. 1738.

feld. 'On the 14th (of Auguſt) the whole day was ſpent in 'preparations for the lodge; and a little after midnight we ſaw 'the prince-royal arrive, accompanied by count W. captain in 'the king's regiment at Potſdam. The prince preſented this 'gentleman as a candidate whom he recommended; and whoſe 'reception he wiſhed immediately to ſucceed his own. He de'ſired us likewiſe to omit in his reception not any one rigorous 'ceremony, that was uſed in ſimilar caſes; to grant him no 'indulgence whatever; but gave us leave on this occaſion to 'treat him merely as a private perſon. In a word, he was re'ceived with all the uſual and requiſite formalities. I admired 'his intrepidity, the ſerenity of his countenance, and his grace'ful deportment, even in the moſt critical moments. I had 'prepared a ſhort addreſs, of which he teſtified his approbation. 'After the two receptions, we opened the lodge, and proceeded 'to our work. He appeared highly delighted, and acquitted 'himſelf with as much dexterity as diſcernment.' Letters, vol. III. p. 36.

CHAP. II. A. D. 1738.

'perfectly engaging. A *petit maitre* of Paris would 'not, perhaps, admire his *friſure:* his hair, how-'ever, is of a bright brown, careleſsly curled, but 'well adapted to his countenance. His large, 'blue eyes, have at once ſomething ſevere, ſoft, 'and gracious. I was ſurprized to find in him ſo 'youthful an air. His behaviour, in every reſpect, 'is that of a perſon of exalted rank; and he is the 'moſt polite man in all that kingdom over which 'he is born to rule [31].'

As the prince-royal had a regiment under his command, which was in garriſon at RUPPIN, he was occaſionally at that place, where he had a houſe [w]; but his chief reſidence was at RHEINSBERG, where he held his court. The marſhal of his court was M. WOLDEN, who was ſomewhat advanced in years; but he had a young wife, who was a handſome and accompliſhed woman, and who made a diſtinguiſhed figure at the court of Rheinſberg. FREDERSTORF, the ſoldier who had at-

[31] Letters of Baron Bielfeld, vol. III. p. 37, 38.

[w] Baron Bielfeld ſays, 'His highneſs's reſidence at RUPPIN is in an old houſe, but it is charmingly furniſhed. There 'are moreover delicious gardens, which are formed in an old 'triple rampart that ſurrounds the city; and conſiſts of alleys, 'walks, repoſes, and beautiful viſtas: and at the end of theſe 'walks is a more regular garden, ornamented with hedges, 'vaſes, ſtatues, bowers, a pavilion, a grotto, a bath, the tem-'ple of Apollo, and many other embelliſhments. There we 'frequently dine, and breathe a conſtant ſpirit of gaiety.' Letters, ut ſupra, p. 112, 113.

tended

tended the prince when he was closely confined at Custrin, was now transformed into the first gentleman of his bed-chamber. Among the prince's favourites were baron KEYSERLING [x], M. BIELFELD,

CHAP. II. A. D. 1738.

[x] THIERRY, Baron KEYSERLING, appears to have been a man of amiable, but singular character. The following account of his person and behaviour is given by Bielfeld, when he first saw him at Rheinsberg. 'Baron Keyserling is a gentleman of Courland, engaged in the military service of the king of Prussia, and particularly attached to the person of the prince-royal. It was some time before I could meet with him, and I had heard so much of him, and was so much prejudiced in his favour, that I burned with impatience to see him. He entered the hall like a whirlwind, or like Boreas in the ballet of the Rose. He was just come from hunting; and it appeared odd enough to see him in a night gown, and with a gun upon his shoulder. He accosted me at once with an air of perfect ease; and his first words appeared to me, as if I had been for a long time honoured with his particular friendship. He took me by the arm, and led me into his chamber; and while he dressed, he repeated scraps of the *Henriade*, and strings of German verses, and talked of hounds and horses; cut some cross capers; and practised some steps in the rigadoon *a la Balon*; then talked of politics, mathematics, painting, architecture, literary, and political matters. I remained immoveable, listened with a profound silence, and admired every thing, even the happy transitions by which he passed so rapidly from one subject to another. I seemed, however, to perceive, that this extreme vivacity could not be altogether natural, and that it did not entirely flow from an abundant resource of genius; and though time has not quite banished this suspicion, I find nevertheless, on a farther acquaintance, that baron Keyserling is a very amiable gentleman; that he has a mind adorned with much pleasing knowledge; that he both

CHAP. II. A. D. 1738. FELD, afterwards baron Bielfeld, and the chevalier DE CHASOT, a young gentleman of Normandy, of good talents, and a gay and ſprightly temper, who had ſerved in the French army. With this gentleman the prince became acquainted, when he

'both talks, and writes well, and in verſe as well as in proſe; 'and that he has a humour naturally gay, and a noble heart. 'His figure is not very engaging; he is ſhort and thick; has 'ſmall eyes, a large noſe, a wide mouth, and a ſallow com- 'plexion. He has, however, an eaſy air, a graceful preſence, 'and all that he ſays, or does, is in the manner of a man of 'birth. By attaching himſelf to the prince-royal he has con- 'tracted his taſte. He loves muſic, architecture, painting, 'poetry, &c.'

When Frederick III. aſcended the throne, baron Keyſerling was ſo agitated with joy, that it threw him into a fever. In 1743, he was elected a member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Berlin. He was a knight of Malta, and the king made him colonel of cavalry, and adjutant-general, and gave him a conſiderable penſion. He lived too freely, and was much afflicted with the gout. He afterwards fell into a decline, and died on the 13th of Auguſt, 1745, at the age of forty-ſeven. The king's attachment to baron Keyſerling appears to have been greater, than to almoſt any other of his favourites. He gave him the name of CESARION, and a poetical epiſtle addreſſed to him, under that name, is printed among the king's poems; in which Frederick ſpeaks of him with the utmoſt tenderneſs, extols his amiable qualities, and repreſents himſelf as having, by his death, ſuſtained an irreparable loſs. The baron left an infant ſon, whom the king took under his own immediate care and protection. He alſo made a liberal proviſion for his widow. It appears from an *Eloge* on Baron Keyſerling, publiſhed in the Works of Maupertuis, that he tranſlated into French verſe ſome odes of Horace, and alſo Pope's Rape of the Lock.

went

went with his father, in 1734, to attend the operations of prince Eugene on the Rhine. CHAP. II. A. D. 1738.

THOUGH the prince-royal did not cohabit with his wife, yet she resided in the palace at Rheinsberg, and took a part in the amusements of the place; and, notwithstanding the prince's aversion to the alliance, she is represented as a very beautiful and accomplished princess. Bielfeld, who was a courtier, and may therefore be suspected of a little flattery, has given the following description of her person and manners. 'Her royal highness 'is tall of stature; and her figure is, in one word, 'perfect. Never have I seen a more regular shape 'in all its proportions. Her neck, her hands, 'and her feet, might serve as models to the painter. 'Her hair, which I have particularly admired, is 'of a most beautiful flaxen, but somewhat inclining 'to white; and shines, when not powdered, like 'rows of pearls. Her complexion is remarkably 'fine; and, in her large blue eyes, vivacity and 'sweetness are so happily blended, as to make them 'perfectly animated. The princess has an open 'countenance; her eye-brows are neat and regu-'lar; her nose is small and angular, but very ele-'gantly defined; and her coral lips, and well-'turned neck, are equally admirable. Goodness 'is strongly marked in her countenance; and we 'may say, from her whole figure, that the Graces 'have exerted themselves in forming a great prin-'cess. Even those little negligences, which are

CHAP. II. A. D. 1738.

'ſometimes ſeen in her dreſs, or her manner, have 'a happy effect; though her highneſs's dreſs, in 'general, is perfectly regular, and in excellent taſte. 'There is ſcarcely any princeſs in Europe who has 'ſo many fine diamonds, and no one who diſpoſes 'them to more advantage. I have ſeen on her 'robe an aſſemblage of brilliants, heightened by 'amethyſts, of ſuch tranſcendent beauty, that my 'eyes could ſcarcely bear the blaze of their luſtre. 'Her highneſs talks but little, eſpecially at table; 'but all ſhe ſays is ſterling ſenſe. She appears to 'have an uncommon genius, and which ſhe orna- 'ments by the continual ſtudy of the beſt French 'authors. Madam von Katſch [Y] aſſures me, 'that ſhe has a moſt amiable heart, and that her 'whole character is ſupremely excellent; of which 'ſhe frequently gives me the moſt charming in- 'ſtances. Every evening, at ſix, her highneſs has 'a party at quadrille, or triſſet, and plays with a 'noble indifference. Never, in my opinion, did 'any princeſs dance in greater perfection: her man- 'ner is at once graceful, eaſy, elegant, and majeſtic. 'It is ſufficient to behold this princeſs, to know, 'that ſhe is a lady of the moſt exalted rank [32].'

[Y] Madam von Katſch was firſt lady of the bed-chamber to the princeſs royal. Bielfeld ſays, 'I can conceive of nothing 'more reſpectable than this lady. Gravity and ſweetneſs, de- 'cency and gaiety, dignity and politeneſs, are united in her 'countenance and her behaviour; and ſhe is the patroneſs of all 'that is good and amiable.' Letters, vol. III. p. 88.

[32] Letters of Baron Bielfeld, p. 98.

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AT Rheinſberg literature and the fine arts were patronized and cultivated; and ſeveral perſons of merit were lodged and maintained by the prince in the palace. Among theſe were, M. JORDAN, of whom I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter; and M. SONNING, an old officer of artillery, who had loſt a leg in the ſervice, and by whom the prince had been inſtructed in mathematics and fortification. Baron KNOBELSTORF, who had been in the army, but who was withdrawn from it, and who was much diſtinguiſhed by his talents in painting and architecture, was likewiſe a reſident here; as were alſo PESNE, a painter of eminence, CHARLES HENRY GRAUN, maſter of the prince's chapel, JOHN GOTTLIB GRAUN, his concert maſter, and FRANCIS BENDA, famous for his excellence in playing on the violin, and for his fine compoſitions for that inſtrument: and the inhabitants of the prince's palace are repreſented as enjoying in it great liberty [z].

AMONG

[z] Bielfeld ſays, 'All who live in this palace enjoy a perfect liberty, for their particular employments, or private pleaſures. We ſee the prince and princeſs only at table, at play, at the ball, the concert, or other common pleaſures of which we participate. Time, ſo precious to a thinking being, and ſo tedious to one who does not think, is not here paſſed by lying long in bed, in making a long breakfaſt, or in pacifying or diſpatching of duns, or in grave conferences with a taylor, or ſuch other important viſitor, or at a tedious toilet, or by dancing attendance in an anti-chamber, and paſſing the remainder

CHAP. II. A. D. 1738. AMONG other literary men, who were introduced to the prince of Pruſſia at Rheinſberg, was the ingenious

'mainder of the day in frivolous diſcourſe. Here every one 'reads, reflects, draws, paints, or plays on ſome inſtrument; 'or writes and amuſes, or employs himſelf in his apartment; 'and is dreſſed with elegance, though not oſtentation, by the 'hour of dinner.' Ibid. p. 92.

In another place, he ſays, 'Our days here paſs away in a 'tranquil manner, and enlivened by every enjoyment that can 'pleaſe a rational mind. Royal chear, wine for the gods, the 'muſic of angels; delicious paſtimes in the gardens, in the 'woods, upon the waters; the cultivation of letters and the po'lite arts, and a refined converſation; all concur to ſpread their 'powers over this enchanting palace.' Ibid. p. 98.

It ſeems from what is ſaid by Bielfeld afterwards, that the prince's wine at Rheinſberg was ſometimes, though not frequently, uſed too freely both by himſelf and his courtiers. 'About a fortnight ſince,' ſays he, 'the prince was in a hu'mour of extraordinary gaiety at table. His gaiety animated all 'the reſt; and ſome glaſſes of champaign ſtill more enlivened 'our mirth. The prince, perceiving our diſpoſition, was wil'ling to promote it; and, on riſing from table, told us he was 'determined we ſhould re-commence our jollity at ſupper, and 'in the ſame place where we had left off. Towards evening I 'was called to the concert; at the end of which the prince ſaid 'to me, "Go now to the princeſs's apartment, and when ſhe "has finiſhed her play, we will ſit down to table, and will not "quit it till the lights are out, and we are ſomewhat enlight"ened with champaign." I regarded this threat as a pleaſant'ry; for I knew that parties, which are expreſsly intended for 'this purpoſe, ſeldom ſucceed, but commonly become more 'dull than joyous. On entering the princeſs's apartment, how'ever, her highneſs, convinced that the affair was very ſerious, 'prognoſticated with a ſmile, that I ſhould not be able to de-

'fend

genious and celebrated count ALGAROTTI, to whom the prince afterwards became much attached. CHAP. II. A. D. 1738.

'fend myſelf againſt the prince's attack. In fact, we were 'ſcarcely ſeated before he began, by drinking a number of in-'tereſting healths, which there was a neceſſity of pledging. This 'firſt ſkirmiſh being over, it was followed by an inceſſant flow 'of ſallies and repartees, by the prince and the company; the 'moſt contracted countenances became expanded; the gaiety 'was general; and even the ladies aſſiſted in promoting our jol-'lity.' After about two hours, Bielfeld ſays, he went out into 'the veſtibule: 'When I went out, I found myſelf ſober 'enough, but the air ſeized me, and on entering the hall, I per-'ceived a ſort of vapour that ſeemed to cloud my reaſon. I had 'placed before me a large glaſs of water, which the princeſs, 'oppoſite to whom I had the honour to ſit, in a vein of miſ-'chievous pleaſantry, had ordered to be emptied, and had filled 'it with Sellery wine, which was as clear as rock water; ſo 'that, having already loſt my taſte, I mixed my wine with 'wine; and thinking to refreſh myſelf, I became joyous, but 'it was a kind of joy that leaned towards intoxication. To 'finiſh my picture, the prince ordered me to come and ſit by 'him: he ſaid many gracious things to me, and let me ſee into 'futurity, as far as my feeble ſight was then capable of diſco-'vering; and at the ſame time made me drink, bumper after 'bumper, of his Lunelle wine. The reſt of the company, how-'ever, were not leſs ſenſible than I, of the effects of the Nec-'tar, which there flowed in ſuch mighty ſtreams.'—'At laſt, 'whether by accident, or deſign, the princeſs broke a glaſs. 'This was a ſignal for our impetuous jollity, and an example 'that appeared highly worthy of imitation. In an inſtant, all 'the glaſſes flew to the ſeveral corners of the room; and all the 'chryſtals, porcelain, piers, branches, bowls, vaſes, &c. were 'broken into a thouſand pieces. In the midſt of this univerſal 'deſtruction, the prince ſtood, like the man in Horace, who

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ed. In a letter written to lord Hervey, and dated Sept. 30, 1739, the count says, 'What shall I 'say to you, my lord, of the prince-royal, the lover 'and the favourite of the Muses? Several days 'which we [A] passed with him, in his castle of 'Rheinsberg, seemed to be but a few hours. He 'is the most intelligent and most amiable of men. 'Though I could notice only his private virtues, 'I can boldly assure you, my lord, that the world 'will one day admire his royal qualifications; and 'that when he shall be upon the throne, he will 'shew himself to be the greatest of sovereigns. 'There is all the reason in the world to believe, 'that he will seek out for great men, with as much 'eagerness as his father does for giants [33].'

'contemplates the crush of worlds, with a look of perfect tran-'quility. To this tumult succeeded a fresh burst of mirth; 'during which the prince slipped away, and, aided by his pages, 'retired to his apartment; and the princess immediately fol-'lowed.' Bielfeld himself was so intoxicated, that he fell down the grand stair-case from the top to the bottom, and was so bruised and hurt, that he was taken up senseless. 'After 'lying,' says he, 'about a fortnight in bed, where the prince 'had the goodness to come every day to see me, and contribute 'every thing possible to my cure, I got abroad again. The day 'after this adventure the court was at its last gasp. Neither 'the prince, nor any of the courtiers, could stir from their 'beds.' Ibid. p. 99—104.

[A] When the count was introduced to the prince of Prussia, he was accompanied by lord Baltimore.

[33] Letters from Count Algarotti to Lord Hervey and the Marquis Scipio Maffei, vol. II. p. 33, 34. edit. Lond. 1769.

OF

Of the employments and converſation of the prince at Rheinsberg, the following account is given by baron Bielfeld, 'All the employments, 'and all the pleaſures of the prince, are thoſe of 'a man of underſtanding. He is at this time ac- 'tually engaged in refuting the dangerous political 'reveries of Machiavel. His converſation at table 'is charming. He talks much, and excellently 'well. His mind ſeems to be equal to all ſorts of 'ſubjects; and his imagination produces, on each 'of them, a number of new and juſt ideas. His 'genius reſembles the fire of the veſtals, that was 'never extinct. A decent and polite contradiction 'is not diſagreeable to him. He poſſeſſes the rare 'talent of diſplaying the wit of others, and of 'giving them opportunities to ſhine on thoſe ſub- 'jects in which they excel. He jeſts frequently, 'and ſometimes rallies, but never with aſperity, 'and an ingenious retort does not diſpleaſe him. 'The antitheſis and the ſimile appear to be his fa- 'vourite figures.'—'Nothing can be more elegant 'than this prince's library. It has a view of the 'lake and gardens. A collection, not very nu- 'merous, but well choſen, of the beſt books in the 'French language, are ranged in glaſs caſes, which 'are ornamented with carvings and gildings in ex- 'cellent taſte. The portrait of M. de Voltaire 'occupies an honourable place in this library. He 'is the favourite author of the prince, who has, 'in

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'in general, a high eſteem for the good French 'writers, both in proſe and in verſe [34].'

As the prince-royal had ſeveral muſical compoſers and performers with him, he had generally private concerts in the evening. Bielfeld ſays, 'The evenings are devoted to muſic. The prince 'has a concert in his ſaloon, where no one enters 'that is not invited, and ſuch invitation is re-'garded as an extraordinary favour. The prince 'has commonly performed a ſonata, and a con-'cert for the flute, on which he plays in the greateſt 'perfection. He fills the flute admirably well, 'has great agility of the fingers, and a vaſt fund 'of muſic. He compoſes himſelf ſonatas. I have 'had the honour to ſtand behind him more than 'once, while he was playing, and was charmed 'with his taſte, eſpecially in the *adagio*. He has 'a continual creation of new ideas.' This writer 'adds, 'The prince dances in a noble and grace-'ful manner. In a word, he loves all rational 'pleaſures, except the chaſe [35] [B].'

MUCH

[34] Bielfeld's Letters, vol. III. p. 92, 93. [35] Ibid. p. 94, 95.

[B] It has been ſaid, that when the prince was at Cuſtrin, he frequently rode out a hunting, and generally carried a fowling-piece with him, with which he often fired at ſuch game as he occaſionally met with. On one of theſe excurſions, having, when on horſeback, dropped his glove, by ſtooping to take it up, he accidentally cauſed his piece to go off, and a bullet went through his hat, but without doing him any injury. This narrow

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MUCH of the prince's time was employed in exerciſing the troops under his command, in attendance at reviews, and in occaſional journies with his father; but when he was at Rheinſberg, he often applied himſelf to his ſtudies with great ardour, particularly to hiſtory and philoſophy. One of his letters to M. Suhm contains the following paſſage: 'I become every day more covetous of my 'time; I render an account of it to myſelf; and 'I loſe none of it but with great regret. My mind 'is entirely turned towards philoſophy; it has ren-'dered me admirable ſervices, and I am greatly 'indebted to it. I find myſelf happy, abundantly 'more tranquil than formerly; my ſoul is leſs ſub-'ject to violent agitations; and I do nothing till 'I have thoroughly conſidered what courſe of ac-'tion I ought to adopt [36].' In another letter, he ſays, 'I am retired at preſent to my dear ſolitude, 'where I ſhall give myſelf up to my ſtudies. WOL-'FIUS, as you may ſuppoſe, will have his place; 'ROLLIN alſo will have his hours; and the reſt 'ſhall be conſecrated to the gods of tranquility and 'repoſe [37].' In another letter, ſpeaking of the employments of himſelf and his literary friends at

now eſcape made ſuch an impreſſion upon him, that he ſolemnly ſwore, that he would never again carry a gun for ſuch a purpoſe: and it is added, that from this time he wholly left off the practice of hunting.

[36] Correſpondance familiere et amicale, tom II. p. 7.

[37] Ibid. tom, I, p. 43, 44.

Rheinſ-

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Rheinſberg, he ſays, 'We have divided our occupations into two claſſes, of which the one comprehends thoſe that are uſeful, and the other thoſe that are agreeable. I reckon in the number of thoſe that are uſeful, the ſtudy of philoſophy, of hiſtory, and of languages: the agreeable are muſic, and the tragedies and comedies that we exhibit here. Our ſerious occupations have, however, always the privilege of preceding the others; and I dare venture to affirm to you, that we make only a reaſonable uſe of theſe pleaſures; engaging in them for no other purpoſe but to relax our minds, and to temper that moroſeneſs, and extreme philoſophic gravity, which does not eaſily ſuffer its countenance to be enlivened by the graces [38].'

THE prince remarks to M. Suhm in one of his letters, that the days he had paſſed at Rheinſberg were the happieſt that he had ever known [39]. But his tranquility in this agreeable retreat was ſometimes a little diſturbed by the want of money, with which his frugal father, notwithſtanding his immenſe hoards, did not furniſh him in too great abundance. In one of his letters to M. Suhm, he tells him, that he was preſſed on all ſides by his creditors [40]; and he repeatedly mentions to him his difficulties on that account. He, therefore, employed that gentleman to procure for him ſome

[38] Correſpondance familiere et amicale, tom. I. p. 64, 65.
[39] Ibid. p. 76. [40] Ibid. p. 119.

loans

loans of money. Accordingly he borrowed for him conſiderable ſums of the empreſs Anne Iwanowna of Ruſſia, and from the duke of Courland, formerly count Biron, her favourite. He was at firſt unwilling to receive any money from the empreſs. He obſerved to M. Suhm, that it was a very different thing to be under obligations to a duke, and to be under obligations to an empreſs [41]. But his neceſſities at length obliged him to conſent. Beſides the ſums that he borrowed of the duke of Courland, the empreſs ſeems to have agreed to furniſh him with twenty-four thouſand crowns *per annum* [42].

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Of the diſlike that Frederick William had conceived againſt Wolfius, who had now for ſome time been baniſhed from his dominions, I have already taken ſome notice. But, towards the cloſe of his life, the Pruſſian monarch began to entertain a more favourable opinion of this celebrated writer. In one of the prince's letters to M. Suhm, dated Oct. 14, 1739, is the following paſſage: 'The news of the day is, that the king reads the 'philoſophy of Wolfius three hours in the day; 'for which God be praiſed. Thus we at length 'ſee the triumph of reaſon; and I hope that the 'bigots, with their obſcure cabal, will no more be 'able to oppreſs good ſenſe and reaſon. Would 'you have believed, two years ago, that this phæ-

[41] Correſpondance familiere et amicale, tom. II. p. 60.

[42] Ibid. p. 105.

'nomenon

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'nomenon would ever have happened? You ſee, 'therefore, that we muſt ſwear for nothing, and 'that thoſe things which appear to us the moſt 'remote, are ſometimes thoſe which the ſooneſt 'come to paſs. But what will the philoſopher 'himſelf ſay? For, with all his rules of probability, 'I am ſure that he never expected what has now 'happened. I can tell you alſo ſtill more: Wolfius has been offered a penſion of a thouſand 'crowns, with another of five hundred for his ſon, 'and a penſion is alſo promiſed to his wife, in caſe 'of her widowhood. Behold things new and aſtoniſhing, but which are, nevertheleſs, very true [43].'

DURING M. Suhm's reſidence at Peterſburgh, the prince of Pruſſia endeavoured to gain from him the moſt exact information reſpecting the ſtate of the Ruſſian empire. He made very particular inquiries concerning the alterations that had been made in Muſcovy from the time of the acceſſion of Peter the Great, relative to religion, the military art, commerce, dreſs, manners, and population. He alſo inquired what changes had been made in the police of the kingdom, what was the quantity of ſpecie, what public works had been undertaken, and what was the ſtate of literature in Ruſſia. M. Suhm in ſome degree anſwered his inquiries; but ſeems not to have been able to obtain him all the information that he wanted [44].

[43] Correſpondance familiere et amicale, p. 97, 98.

[44] Ibid. p. 12, 13, 21, 22, &c.

In a letter to M. Suhm, dated from Berlin, April 13, 1740, the prince intimates to him, that the king his father was in ſo bad a ſtate of health, that the phyſicians conſidered his caſe as deſperate, and apprehended his end to be ſpeedily approaching. 'You may eaſily imagine,' ſays he, 'that 'this ſtate of things occaſions much buſtle here; 'and, in fact, they leave me little repoſe; but 'within I am tranquil; and, I aſſure you, that I 'have never found myſelf more a philoſopher than 'upon this occaſion. I regard with eyes of indif-'ference all that awaits me: without either hopes 'or fears from fortune, I am full of compaſſion 'for thoſe who ſuffer, of eſteem for worthy peo-'ple, and of tenderneſs for my friends. You, 'who are in the number of the laſt, may more 'and more aſſure yourſelf, that you will find in 'me all that Oreſtes ever found in Pylades [43].

[43] Correſpondance familiere et amicale, p. 112, 113.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Death of Frederick William.—Acceſſion of Frederick III. to the throne of Pruſſia.—His popularity among his ſubjects on his acceſſion.—He attends the funeral of his father.—Diſbands the regiment of tall guards.—Inſtitutes a new order of knighthood.—Declines being crowned.—Voltaire congratulates him on his acceſſion.—Viſits ſeveral parts of his dominions.—Takes a journey to Straſburgh.—Has an interview with Voltaire.—Prints his Anti-Machiavel.—Claims, and ſeizes, two diſtricts in the poſſeſſion of the biſhop of Leige.

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DURING the latter years of FREDERICK WILLIAM, he was ſo much afflicted with ill health, that it increaſed the natural violence and irritability of his temper; ſo that he is ſaid to have behaved with great turbulence even to his phyſicians [c]. But when he found that his end was certainly

[c] Dr. Johnſon ſays, that Frederick William 'ſpoke and 'acted in his illneſs with his uſual turbulence and roughneſs, re-'proaching his phyſicians in the groſſeſt terms with their un-'ſkilfulneſs and impotence, and imputing to their ignorance 'or wickedneſs the pain which their preſcriptions failed to re-'lieve. Theſe inſults they bore with the ſubmiſſion which is 'commonly paid to deſpotic monarchs; till at laſt the celebrated 'Hoffman was conſulted, who failing, like the reſt, to give 'eaſe to his majeſty, was like the reſt treated with injurious lan-'guage.

certainly approaching, his behaviour was more calm and reſigned. Late in the evening of the 26th of May, 1740, a courier arrived at Rheinſberg, with letters acquainting the prince, that his father was ſo ill, that his diſſolution was ſpeedily apprehended. It was obſerved, that it would be expedient, that his royal highneſs ſhould be preſent when the king breathed his laſt, and that the utmoſt expedition was neceſſary; but that it was proper, that he ſhould give his viſit the appearance of being merely the effect of attention and tenderneſs towards his majeſty. The prince immediately ſet off for Potſdam, where he found his father not apparently ſo ill as he expected; but the king expreſſed himſelf highly pleaſed at his arrival. He lived till the laſt day of the month, when he expired, at three in the afternoon [D], in the arms of his ſon and ſucceſſor,

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'gnage. Hoffman, conſcious of his own merit, replied, that 'he could not bear reproaches which he did not deſerve; that 'he had tried all the remedies that art could ſupply, or nature 'could admit; that he was, indeed, a profeſſor by his majeſty's 'bounty, but that if his abilities or integrity were doubted, 'he was willing to leave not only the univerſity but the king-'dom; and that he could not be driven into any place where 'the name of Hoffman would want reſpect. The king, how-'ever unaccuſtomed to ſuch returns, was ſtruck with convic-'tion of his own indecency, told Hoffman that he had ſpoken 'well, and requeſted him to continue his attendance.' Memoirs ut ſupra, p. 101, 102.

[D] Bielfeld informs us, that 'About one in the afternoon, 'he ſent for counſellor Ellert, his firſt phyſician, and aſked him, 'if

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ceſſor [46], in the fifty-ſecond year of his age. Before his death, he had ſeveral conferences with the prince-royal on the affairs of government [E], and on theſe occaſions teſtified great regard for his ſon. He left behind him a paper, addreſſed to his ſon, containing directions for his funeral [F].

THE

'if he thought that his life and his ſufferings could continue 'long, and if the agonies of his laſt moments would be great. 'The phyſician anſwered, *Your majeſty is already arrived at 'that period. I feel the pulſe retire; it now beats below your 'elbow.* The king ſaid, *Where will it retire at laſt?* The 'doctor replied, *To the heart: and in about an hour it will 'ceaſe to beat at all.* On which the king ſaid, with perfect re-'ſignation, God's will be done.' Letters, vol. III. p. 127, 128.

[46] Ibid. p. 118, 128.

[E] Dr. Johnſon informs us, that the king laid ſeveral injunctions upon the prince, 'of which one was to perpetuate the 'tall regiment by continual recruits, and another to receive his 'eſpouſed wife. The prince gave him a reſpectful anſwer, but 'wiſely avoided to diminiſh his own right or power by an ab-'ſolute promiſe, and the king died uncertain of the fate of the 'tall regiment.' Memoirs, p. 102. But Bielfeld ſays, 'It is 'affirmed, that the late king proved to his ſon, by an exact cal-'culation, a ſhort time before his death, that his majeſty might 'maintain ten thouſand more men, and a ſuperb opera at Ber-'lin, for the expence that his tall regiment of Potſdam had alone 'coſt him.' Letters, vol. III. p. 164.

[F] This paper contains ſome particulars, which are well ſuited to the ſingularity of FREDERICK WILLIAM's character. He ſays, 'My intention is, that after I am dead, they waſh my 'body, put me on a clean ſhirt, and extend me on a table of 'wood; and that after having ſhaved me, and made me very 'clean, they cover me with a cloth, and leave me in that ſitua-

THE death of FREDERICK WILLIAM was so far from being regretted, that it appears to have excited

'tion about four hours; at the end of which time they shall 'open my body, in the presence of lieutenant-general Boden-'broeck, of colonel Derschau, of colonel Einsiedel, of major 'Bredow, the captains Pritz and Hacken, the surgeon-major 'of my regiment, and my valet de chambre. That they then 'examine carefully what shall have been the cause of my death.— 'After this they shall wash me again, as clean as possible, and 'put me on my best uniform, and lay me in that coffin which 'is not adorned; after which they shall leave me there all night.'

'The soldiers of my regiment shall have new clothes, hats, 'and every thing belonging to them. Captain Lang, and the 'other supernumerary officers and soldiers, as well as the six 'subalterns of the second and third battalions, and all the 'supernumeraries, shall mount the guard that day in the city.'

'The next day they shall assemble my regiment, which shall 'form its battalions in the following manner. The first batta-'lion shall face the castle, its right wing extending to the river, 'where the walls begin; the second battalion shall be on the 'left hand of it; and the third behind that. They shall be all 'compleat, and every grenadier shall have three cartridges. 'Every colour shall have a crape tied to it, and the drums shall 'be covered with black cloth; and the fifes and hautboys shall 'also have crape about them. Every officer shall have a crape in 'his hat, another about his arm, and their scarfs shall be also 'covered with crape.

'The mourning coach, which shall be taken out of my stables 'at Berlin, shall be conducted to the foot of the great stairs; 'the horses shall have their heads turned towards the river; and 'eight captains of my regiment shall put me into the coach: 'after which they shall go and take their posts again. The 'same captains shall take me out of the coach, when the funeral 'pomp is arrived before the church.'

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cited an high degree of joy among his ſubjects; and the rather, on account of the great expectations that were formed of his ſucceſſor. The new king, however, at leaſt put on ſome appearance of grief; for when M. Bielfeld was firſt introduced to him, after his acceſſion, he ſeemed quite dejected, and ſaid to him, with tears in his eyes, 'You do not 'know what I have loſt in loſing my father.' Bielfeld replied, 'It is true, Sire; but I know 'very well what you have gained, in getting a 'kingdom. Your loſs is great; but your motives

'The eight captains I have mentioned ſhall carry my body 'into the church, through the door by which I uſed to enter. 'I would have the beſt of my ſwords for ſervice laid on the 'coffin, my beſt ſcarf, with the beſt *dragonne* I have, a pair of 'ſpurs, and a gilt head-piece. There are ſome of them to be 'found in the arſenal at Berlin. After the captains ſhall have 'ſet me down in the church, near my tomb, the hautboys ſhall 'play, and Ludowick, the maſter of my chapel, ſhall play on 'the organ; and the eight captains, in the mean time, ſhall 'return into their ranks. There will be found ſome, among 'my general officers, who will pay me the laſt duties, and put 'me into my vault.

'They will take care to bring from Berlin, twenty-four field-'pieces, ſix pounders each, which ſhall make twelve ſucceſſive 'diſcharges; then the battalions ſhall begin to fire one after 'another, and the artillery ſhall re-commence its fire.'

'The generals, all the officers of my regiment, and others 'who ſhall aſſiſt at this ceremony, ſhall have a ſupper that night, 'and the entertainment ſhall be made in the great hall. I deſire 'they may be treated well, and that the beſt caſk of Rheniſh 'wine in my cellars be broached, and that they drink none but 'good wine in general that night.' Hiſt. of Pruſſia, during the reign of Frederick William, p. 517—520.

'for conſolation are very powerful.' The king ſmiled [47]; and, as a proof that he was not inconſolable, a few days after, before the funeral of his father, held a lodge of free-maſons [G]. CHAP. III. A. D. 1740.

FREDERICK III. [H] was extremely popular among his ſubjects, on his acceſſion to the throne. When

[47] Letters, vol. III. p. 139, 140.

[G] Bielfeld, in a letter dated June 20, 1740, ſays, 'The 'king has publickly declared himſelf a free-maſon; and, a few 'days ſince, his majeſty held a very illuſtrious lodge. I made 'the neceſſary preparations, and acted as principal overſeer: the 'king himſelf being in the chair. The curioſity of all the 'court was very ſtrongly excited. We received their highneſſes 'Prince William, the margrave Charles, and the duke of 'Holſtein, who were all highly charmed with being of our 'order.' Vol. III. p. 145.

As it ſoon became generally known, that the king of Pruſſia was a free maſon, ſome of the members of that fraternity afterward endeavoured, without any other pretenſions, to obtrude themſelves upon his notice, by ſignifying to him that they were members of that ſociety. But they met with no countenance from him, unleſs they were in other reſpects men of merit. Accordingly we are told, that a free-maſon having endeavoured to intrude himſelf on the king, merely by virtue of that connexion, Frederick took no notice of him. But the man enforced his application by making the king a ſign; which his majeſty anſwered, "by turning his back upon his brother-maſon, and "lifting up the hind flap of his coat." *Notes to Bielfeld, ut ſupra*, p. 39.

[H] He is ſometimes ſtiled FREDERICK II. his father, FREDERICK WILLIAM, in that caſe, not being included in the liſt of FREDERICKS. But, by the ſame rule, he alſo might be diſtinguiſhed from the firſt king of Pruſſia, by being denominated

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When he appeared in public, the ſhouts of applauſe were inceſſant. He reſided at Charlottenbourg [1], a palace about a league diſtant from Berlin, till the interment of his father, the ceremonies of which were conducted by the famous baron Pollnitz. The concourſe of people at Charlottenbourg to ſee the new king was ſo great, and the houſes of every kind ſo much crowded, that it was not without extreme difficulty that common neceſſaries could be obtained, or the meaneſt accommodations. There was, indeed, at this period, a great ſcarcity of proviſions throughout the king-

CHARLES FREDERICK, by which name he was baptized; and he has alſo been ſtiled FREDERICK CHARLES. In this country, however, in almoſt all hiſtorical productions, he has generally been denominated FREDERICK III. and, therefore, I have thought it beſt in this work to retain that appellation. The fact is, that as there have been ſeveral electors of Brandenburgh, and kings of Pruſſia, named Frederick, and ſome of whom had alſo other additions to their names, this has occaſioned ſomewhat of confuſion in their hiſtory. Thus Frederick, the firſt king of Pruſſia, generally ſtiled Frederick I. is, in the Memoirs of the Houſe of Brandenburgh, repeatedly ſtiled Frederick III. he being the third elector of that name.

[1] The palace of CHARLOTTENBURG was built by Frederick I. but very much neglected by his ſucceſſor Frederick William. Bielfeld ſays, that the ſituation of this palace, 'on the 'banks of the Sprey, is charming; the caſtle is large and ſtately; 'the gardens are very extenſive, and diſpoſed in a taſte of 'elegance and magnificence; and the town, though not en-'cloſed, is handſomely built.' The apartments of the palace are ſplendid, and richly furniſhed; and there is a gallery of pictures, ſome of which are pieces of great merit.

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dom, occaſioned by the uncommon rigour of the preceding winter, which had nearly exhauſted all the private granaries. Frederick, therefore, on the ſecond day after his acceſſion, ordered the public ſtore-houſes to be opened, and corn to be diſtributed to the people at a moderate price [48]. He alſo ordered the magiſtrates of the ſeveral diſtricts of his dominions, to be very attentive to the relief of the poor; and directed, that if the funds eſtabliſhed for that purpoſe were not ſufficient, the deficiency ſhould be ſupplied out of the revenues of the crown [49]. CHAP. III. A. D. 1740.

FREDERICK WILLIAM was interred at Potſdam [K] on the 26th of June, 1740. Of the funeral proceſſion,

[48] Bielfeld, p. 144.

[49] Johnſon's Memoirs, ut ſupra, p. 104.

[K] In former notes, as well as in the text, ſundry obſervations have been made reſpecting this prince's character, which appears to have been ſingularly curious; and I ſhall, therefore, here add ſome farther particulars concerning him. He was extremely attentive to public buſineſs. His ſon ſays, that he 'eſtabliſhed, in every province, a college of juſtice, and another 'of finances, both ſubordinate to the miniſters. The miniſters 'for foreign affairs, with thoſe of juſtice, and of the finances, 'made their report daily to the king, who definitively decided 'every thing laid before him. During the whole of his reign, 'there did not appear the moſt trifling ordinance that was not of 'his ſigning, nor the moſt trifling inſtruction that was not of his 'drawing up.' *Memoirs of the Houſe of Brandenburgh*, vol. II. p. 155.

Frederick William contributed much more to enable his ſon Frederick III. to make the great figure that he afterwards did, than

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procession, in which the new king walked in person, the following particulars are related by Bielfeld.

than has been generally apprehended. A sensible and well informed writer says, that 'During the reign of Frederick William, surnamed the *Great Elector*, the House of Brandenburgh 'began to make a distinguished figure in Europe. His son 'Frederick, the first king of Prussia, seemed to be more desirous 'of supporting the pomp of royalty, than of cultivating the 'true means of increasing the splendour of his house. Frederick 'William, his successor, advanced with gigantic steps in the 'road his grandfather, the great elector, had marked out for 'him. He formed a military system till then unknown in 'Europe. He established that discipline, which every other 'power has been striving to imitate, and that mechanism, if we 'may so call it, by which every part of it is so firmly connected. 'The judicious discernment of this prince made him sensible, 'that the power of the house of Brandenburgh would for a long 'time be precarious; and that a numerous and well disciplined 'army could alone constitute its basis and support. His politics, 'therefore, were founded wholly on strength, and his govern'ment became altogether military.' *Observations on the Military Establishment, &c. of the King of Prussia*, p. 1, 2.

Of the person of Frederick William, in 1739, the following description is given by Bielfeld. 'If we judge by his portraits, 'he was in his youth perfectly handsome; but it must be con'fessed, that he does not now retain any traces of beauty. His 'eyes are indeed lively, but his looks are frightful; his com'plexion is composed of a mixture of high red, blue, yellow, 'and green; his head is large, his neck is quite sunk between 'his shoulders, and his figure is short and gross.' Letters, vol. III. p. 67.

Another writer says, 'This monarch was of a middling 'height, but extraordinarily thick; he had a lively eye, full face, 'large forehead, a very handsome mouth and nose, and well

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feld. 'The proceſſion began about eleven in the 'forenoon. A detachment of the late king's regi- 'ment

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'made leg, and ſpoke very much through the noſe. His head 'was very large, and he wore a wig, whoſe ſides were ſhort, 'and curled into one ſingle buckle, which increaſed the natural 'largeneſs of his face. He was in continual exerciſe, to pre- 'vent the natural conſequences of his exceſſive fatneſs. He 'piqued himſelf on being a good phyſiognomiſt, and when he 'perceived any one confounded at his preſence, concluded he 'had a bad conſcience. He was never miſtaken with regard to 'foreigners, whom he diſtinguiſhed at the firſt ſight from 'Pruſſians; and when he ſaw one, informed himſelf exactly of 'every thing concerning him.

'The beſt way to have his approbation on theſe occaſions, 'was to look full on him, to make few or no bows, and anſwer 'him without heſitation. He often aſked queſtions, as much 'to divert himſelf, as out of curioſity. I remember one day at 'Potſdam, a Gaſcon, a comb-maker by profeſſion, who had left 'France on account of religion, and came to Berlin to ſeek for 'work, ſtood to ſee the great grenadiers at Potſdam, as he paſſed 'through that place, perform their exerciſe. The king, who 'perceived him, came up him, and aſked him who he was, 'whither he came from, whither he was going, &c. to which 'the Gaſcon anſwered, calling his majeſty always *Sir*. Upon 'this an officer drew near him, and told him he was ſpeaking to 'the king. *Tell that to others*, replied the Gaſcon; *what do 'kings wear ſpatterdaſhes?* The king laughed heartily at the 'man's ſimplicity; and was much leſs ſhocked at ſuch an anſwer, 'than he would have been at the airs of a *petit-maître*, or a coat 'with ſleeves after the French faſhion.' *Hiſt. of Pruſſia, ut ſupra*, p. 521, 522.

Frederick William was rigorous, even to extreme cruelty, in his puniſhment of offenders. This appeared on ſundry occaſions. It is ſaid, that ſome years before his death he had formed the deſign

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'ment came firſt; then came all the domeſtics of 'that monarch in deep mourning; grooms, coach-'men,

deſign of abdicating his crown, and retiring to the Hague. Bielfeld informs us, that in the 'treaty of partition, which he 'made with the prince of Orange, for the ſucceſſion of William 'III. of England, he expreſsly reſerved the palace at the Hague, 'called the Old Court, and the pleaſure caſtle of Honſlardick. 'It was there that he propoſed to finiſh his days in retirement, 'and ſee his ſon hold the reins of government. This idea re-'vived in his mind towards the cloſe of his life. The day before 'his death, he ſent for M. von Podewills, miniſter for foreign 'affairs, to Berlin; and, in effect, abdicated the crown, in the 'preſence of the prince of Anhalt, and ſeveral others. He 'moreover ordered that miniſter to notify this abdication, the 'ſame evening, to all the courts of Europe, and make the troops 'take the oath of fidelity. Providence, however, rendered this 'ſtep unneceſſary, by taking the ſick monarch a few hours after 'from this world, and putting the ſcepter into the hands of his 'ſon, by the more natural way, the right of ſucceſſion.' Letters, vol. III. p. 133, 134.

Count ALGAROTTI viſited the Pruſſian dominions in 1739, as has been already mentioned in the text; and, in a letter to lord Hervey, written at that time, he gives ſome account of Frederick William, and his tall regiment. Speaking of Potſdam, which he ſtyles 'the military noviciate of Pruſſia,' he ſays, 'It is the garriſon of that ſuperb regiment, which, for the come-'lineſs and ſtature of the ſoldiers, may be called the flower of 'the human race. It is compoſed of, including the ſupernume-'raries, four thouſand giants, of all religions, and all countries. 'Yet there is not among them either ſchiſm or controverſy. 'Means have been found to turn their attention ſolely to evolu-'tions, and other military exerciſes, and to make all their pre-'tenſions center in excelling therein. To ſee a ſingle ſoldier 'perform his exerciſe, through a multiplying glaſs, and to ſee 'this

'men, footmen, hunters, valet de chambres, and 'pages. Theſe were followed by the deputies of 'the

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'this regiment perform it, is preciſely the ſame thing, for 'regularity and juſtneſs of time. Many even think, that, in the 'handling of their arms, they are ſubject to minuteneſſes, which, 'though they have a fine effect upon the parade, are very uſeleſs 'in a day of battle.

'The prince of Anhalt, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo greatly 'in the battle of Turin, is the inſtitutor of this rigorous diſ-'cipline. However, this regiment of giants is always under the 'eye of their maſter; it is he who is properly their commander. 'He even takes that title, having done us the honour to tell us, 'that we ſhould dine, not at the table of a King, but at that of 'a Colonel. It muſt be allowed, that he acquits himſelf of the 'functions of one with the greateſt exactneſs. His regiment is 'the principal object of his thoughts, and for it alone he gives 'into profuſion.—Every morning, whatever the weather be, he 'goes to ſee it mount guard, and ſeems always to behold it for 'the firſt time. It is then that he gives audience, and admits 'foreigners to his preſence. Accordingly it has been ſaid of 'him, that the earth is the floor of his anti-chamber, and the 'ſky its cieling. In ſome countries, the breed of dogs is leſſen-'ed by people who deal in them. Here, to have ſoldiers, the 'breed of men is enlarged. To this end, the talleſt women that 'can be found are ſought for throughout the kingdom, to 'match them with the giants at Potſdam; and in the marriages 'of their children, the proportion of ſizes is obſerved, as much 'as poſſible. If a girl be a hand higher than common, the king 'pays her portion.

'Beſides his ſuperb regiment of guards, this prince keeps 'upwards of ſeventy thouſand men, who, without being ſo tall, 'are all caſt in the ſame mould, and form the moſt brilliant 'troops that it is poſſible to ſee. The arſenals of Stettin, Mag-'deburgh, and Weſel, his moſt important places, are, as well

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'the tribunals of juſtice, the chambers of finances, 'and of all the courts, as well of the provinces as 'the

'as thoſe of Berlin, in the beſt condition, and furniſhed with a 'numerous artillery. The horſes deſtined for military ſervice 'are trained to it long beforehand, and diſtributed in the ſeveral 'provinces, where they do not remain idle; and where they are 'kept always ready to change the works of Ceres for thoſe of 'Mars.'

'Though the department of war is his principal occupation, 'and all that ſurrounds him is military, his cares do not the leſs 'extend to the other parts of government. His finances are 'regulated with the moſt perfect œconomy. People talk every 'where of his treaſure; a ſtagnant humour in the body politic, 'according to the merchant; and the life of the ſtate, in the 'opinion of the troops; who ſee nothing comparable to a mili- 'tary cheſt. At Berlin, a vaſt apartment, adjoining to the royal 'treaſury, is full of tables, chairs, branches, candleſticks, lamps, 'and baluſtrades of ſilver. Every thing there is of that metal, as 'formerly in the palaces of the kings of Mexico.

'He has re-peopled the territories which he poſſeſſes in Pruſſia 'and Lithuania, heretofore ravaged by the plague, by ſending 'thither colonies purchaſed in the Catholic countries of Ger- 'many, where the Proteſtants have not the free exerciſe of their 'religion. He has likewiſe eſtabliſhed breeds of horſes, which 'are now in high repute. Potſdam owes to him almoſt the 'whole of its exiſtence. Among other things, he has built there 'a church for his ſoldiers, in which is his intended tomb, ſup- 'ported, on the right hand and on the left, by Mars and Bel- 'lona, who had not for a long time before made their appearance 'in any of our temples.

'He has likewiſe increaſed Berlin by more than half; and the 'new ſuburb, or rather the new city which he has added to it, 'is called, from the name of its founder, Williamſtadt.— 'Agriculture is not the leaſt of his cares. In the ſame manner,

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'the city. Next came the deputies of the grand 'directory, and then the miniſters of ſtate of all 'the departments; and theſe were followed by the 'great officers of the crown, each of whom bore, 'on a cuſhion of purple velvet laced and fringed 'with gold, one of the enſigns of royalty; count 'Schwerin, in quality of hereditary great chamber-'lain, bore the ſcepter; and in like manner the 'reſt. All the counſellors, miniſters, generals, and 'great officers, were followed each one by his do-'meſtics in ſtate liveries; which altogether com-'poſed an immenſe train, and afforded a ſuperb 'ſight. At laſt came the funeral chariot, drawn 'by eight horſes with long black coverings. The 'coffin was uncovered. The canopy was ſupport-'ed by twelve major-generals, and the four ends, 'with their taſſels, by four lieutenant-generals. 'Immediately after the chariot came mareſchal 'Schwerin, bearing the great banner, and ſup-'ported by two generals. Behind this banner, at 'ſome diſtance, walked the king, ſupported by 'the old reigning prince of Anhalt Deſſau, and

'as the czar ſent young gentlemen into foreign countries, to 'learn there politeneſs, or maritime affairs, the king of Pruſſia 'ſends them into the country, there to ſtudy plowing, and the 'manner of cultivating land. Accordingly this art, the moſt 'important of all, encouraged and honoured by the ſovereign, 'makes here conſiderable progreſs.' Letters from Count Algarotti to Lord Hervey and the Marquis Scipio Maffei, vol. II. p. 23—32.

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'the duke of Holſtein Beck, both mareſchals. His 'majeſty was followed by at leaſt five hundred of- 'ficers, generals, and others, who all marched in 'ranks, and kept their lines like ſoldiers. The 'diverſity of their uniforms, and the great number 'of theſe officers, all of noble families, afforded 'the moſt grand and brilliant ſight I have ever 'ſeen. After the officers came the prince of Pruſſia, 'ſupported by the hereditary prince Leopold of 'Anhalt and the prince of Zerbſt. Then came 'prince Henry, the king's ſecond brother, ſup- 'ported by prince Thierry of Anhalt, and the 'young prince of Holſtein; and then prince Fer- 'dinand, the king's youngeſt brother, ſupported 'by the princes Eugene and Maurice of Anhalt; 'and laſtly, the margraves van Schwedt, Henry, 'Charles, and William, as princes of the blood, 'ſupported by lieutenant-generals. All the princes 'and noblemen were in the deepeſt mourning, with 'trailing cloaks, and long crapes in their hats. 'Each of them was attended by their livery ſer- 'vants. The other generals followed after, two 'and two, and a ſecond detachment of the late 'king's regiment cloſed the train [50].'

THE very next day after the funeral of his father, Frederick diſbanded the regiment of tall guards at Potſdam [51]; but many of the men were incorpo-

[50] Letters, vol. III, p. 158, 159, 160. [51] Ibid. p. 163.

rated

rated into other regiments [L]. He applied himſelf

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[L] Bielfeld ſays, 'The king has picked ſome of the fineſt 'men to incorporate with his regiment of Ruppin, which now 'bears the name of guards, and his majeſty has augmented it 'to three battalions. The men who are the talleſt, and the leaſt 'well made, are ſet apart to form a battalion, which is to be 'commanded by general Einſiedel, and which is to remain in 'garriſon at Potſdam, and conſtantly to preſerve the ſame uni-'form, arms, and exerciſe, as the regiment of the late king. 'Twelve ſubaltern officers, all men of extraordinary ſtature, 'have been choſen to ſerve in the king's livery as heydukes. 'Theſe giants, clothed in caftans, a ſort of Turkiſh robe, and 'having on their heads high caps, with plumes of feathers, re-'ſemble walking coloſſuſſes. The reſt of this great regiment 'will be incorporated with the five regiments of infantry, each 'of two battalions, which his majeſty is now raiſing, and which 'they ſay are deſtined for prince Henry, prince Ferdinand, and 'the generals Munchow, Cammas, and Perſode.' Letters, vol. III. p. 163, 164.

Voltaire informs us, that after the death of Frederick William, the new king gave ſome of theſe tall ſoldiers to the queen, his wife, to ſerve in quality of heydukes. 'I remember,' ſays he, 'they accompanied the old ſtate coach, which preceded the 'marquis de Beauvau, who came to compliment the new king, 'in the month of November, 1740. The late king, Frederick 'William, who had formerly ſold all the magnificent furniture 'left by his father, never could find a purchaſer for that enor-'mous ungilt coach. The heydukes, who walked on each ſide 'to ſupport it, in caſe it ſhould fall, ſhook hands with each other 'over the roof.' Memoirs, p. 18, 19.

Bielfeld, ſoon after his firſt arrival at Berlin, having viewed Frederick William's tall regiment, both at church, and on the parade, makes the following obſervations: 'Never did I find 'myſelf ſo diminutive, as in the midſt of theſe devout giants. 'Whenever they ſtood up at their prayers, I thought myſelf a 'pigmy.

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self to the public business with great assiduity; and sent

'pigmy. I was obliged to hold my head back when I would 'observe their physiognomies. The soldiers, as well as officers, 'attended the divine service with great decency, and with an 'air of much devotion. Mine, I must ingenuously confess, 'was a little distracted by the novelty of the sight, and by cer-'tain reflexions which I could not forbear making. The church 'appeared to me like a grand cabinet, where some curious mo-'narch had amassed a very extraordinary collection of men of 'the tallest stature, from the four quarters of the world. Under 'the pulpit I observed an iron grate, which closed the entrance 'of a vault, where the king intends to be deposited after his de-'cease. I was surprized to see, at the sides of this grate, two 'statues of white marble, that had the look of two centinels, 'and which represented Mars and Bellona. It seemed strange 'to me, to find two Heathen deities in a Christian church. 'When we came out of the church, they carried us to the pa-'rade, where we found a part of the garrison under arms. They 'went through their exercise with an exactness, which surpasses 'all that has been said of them. To form an idea of it, it is 'necessary to see it; and I protest to you, that, since the de-'luge, I do not think there has been on the earth a troop of 'warriors, that made so marvellous an appearance, and of so 'extraordinary a stature, and that performed their exercise with 'so much dexterity.' Letters, vol. III. p. 67, 68, 69.

Dr. Johnson, speaking of Frederick William, and his tall regiment, says, 'To review this towering regiment was his 'daily pleasure, and to perpetuate it so much his care, that when 'he met a tall woman, he immediately commanded one of his 'Titanian retinue to marry her, that they might propagate pro-'cerity, and produce heirs to the father's habiliments.' Memoirs, ut supra, p. 96.

In his reviews of this tall regiment, Frederick William was frequently attended by the foreign ministers who happened to be at his court. On one of these occasions, when the ambassa-

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ſent three ſolemn embaſſies, to the emperor, to the king of France [M], and to the king of England [52]. Great

dors from France, Spain, and England, were preſent, the Pruſſian monarch is ſaid to have aſked the French miniſter, whether an equal number of his countrymen would engage with theſe gigantic ſoldiers. The Frenchman replied, that it was impoſſible that any men of moderate ſize could think of ſuch an attempt. The ſame queſtion was put to the Spaniſh miniſter, who made a ſimilar reply. Frederick William afterwards aſked the Engliſh ambaſſador, whether he thought that an equal number of his countrymen would beat them? 'I cannot, Sir,' ſaid the Engliſh miniſter, 'take upon me to aſſert, that an equal 'number of my countrymen would beat them; but this, I think, 'I may venture to affirm, that half the number would try.'

Notwithſtanding the attachment of Frederick William to his tall guards, it is probable, that they were not always very well treated; for fourteen of them at once had formed a ſcheme to deſert; but their deſign was prevented by being diſcovered before its execution. *Hiſt. of Pruſſia, ut ſupra*, p. 311. Twelve more of them afterwards alſo formed a ſimilar ſcheme; but that likewiſe was diſcovered. *Ibid.* p. 397.

[52] Letters, vol. III. p. 146.

[M] By his ambaſſador to the court of France, he ſent a preſent of wine to Voltaire, who has given a very ludicrous account of the circumſtances with which his preſent was attended. 'He 'began his reign,' ſays he, 'by ſending an ambaſſador extraor-'dinary to France; one Camas, who had loſt an arm, formerly 'a French refugee, and then an officer in the Pruſſian army. 'He ſaid, that as there was a miniſter from the French court at 'Berlin, who had but one hand, he, that he might acquit him-'ſelf of all obligation towards the moſt Chriſtian king, had 'ſent him an ambaſſador with only one arm. Camas, as ſoon 'as he arrived ſafe at his inn, diſpatched a lad to me, whom 'he had created his page, to tell me that he was too much fa-

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Great generoſity was expected from him, on his acceſſion to the throne, by his courtiers and dependents; but theſe expectations were not much gratified. He did, however, confer ſome offices, and make ſome preſents; and he inſtituted a new order of knighthood, called THE ORDER OF MERIT; the profeſſed deſign of which was to reward the merit of perſons either in arms or arts, without diſtinction of birth, religion, or country. The king was conſtituted ſovereign, and the number of knights unlimited. The enſign was to be a croſs of eight points, enamelled blue, and edged with gold, having in the center a cypher of the letters *F. R.* and in each angle a black eagle diſplayed; on the two upper points the regal crown of Pruſſia; on the reverſe, the motto POUR LE MERITE.

FREDERICK declined the ceremony of a coronation; but this was not from humility. Baron

'tigned to come to my houſe, and therefore begged I would 'come to him inſtantly, he having the fineſt, greateſt, and moſt 'magnificent preſent that ever was preſented, to make me on the 'part of the king his maſter. Run—run as faſt as you can, 'ſaid madame du Chatelet, he has aſſuredly ſent you the dia'monds of the crown. Away I ran, and found my ambaſſa'dor, whoſe only baggage was a ſmall keg of wine, tied behind 'his chaiſe, ſent from the cellar of the late king by the reign'ing monarch, with a royal command for me to drink. I 'emptied myſelf in proteſtations of aſtoniſhment and gratitude 'for theſe *liquid* marks of his majeſty's bounty, inſtead of the '*ſolid* ones I had been taught to expect, and divided my keg 'with Camas.' *Memoirs*, p. 33, 34, 35.

Bielfeld has explained the matter. He ſays, 'Frederick, the firſt king of Pruſſia, had good reaſons for *ſubmitting* to that ceremony; but his ſucceſſors receive the crown from the hands of Providence, and not from their ſubjects. They content themſelves with adminiſtering the oath of fidelity to the troops, to the nobility, and to the people [N]. Meſſ. Dacier, medalliſts, at Geneva, 'have

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[N] The pride of hereditary royalty thus aſſumed by a family, who were but juſt become poſſeſſed of it, is ſomewhat amuſing. Frederick William, though only the ſecond king of Pruſſia, alſo declined being crowned, "thinking," as his ſon ſays, "that this idle ceremony ſuited *elective* better than *hereditary* princes." According to baron Pollnitz, it was a very trifling circumſtance which occaſioned the elevation of Pruſſia to the rank of a kingdom. 'Great events,' ſays he, 'commonly have their ſource in trifles. This was owing to nothing 'more than the refuſal of the prince of Orange, who was king 'of England, to give an arm-chair to the elector, in a confe'rence between thoſe two princes at the Hague, in 1695. The 'elector could not bear that the prince of Orange, who had 'always been his inferior, ſhould carry it to him in ſuch a lofty 'manner, after fortune had raiſed him to the throne of Eng'land; and from that time he reſolved to be a king too.' *Memoirs*, vol. IV. p. 11.

In conſequence of this grievous refuſal of William III. of England to allow the elector of Brandenburgh an arm-chair, a negociation was immediately ſet on foot to prevail on the emperor, and the other princes of Europe, to conſent that ducal Pruſſia ſhould be erected into a kingdom, and that the elector of Brandenburgh ſhould be acknowledged as king of Pruſſia. Many difficulties were ſtarted, and the elector's chief miniſter ſtrongly perſuaded him not to perſiſt in this project. 'But

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'have juſt ſtruck a very fine and large medal, 'which correſponds with this idea. It is in bronze;

'the elector,' ſays Pollnitz, 'had the refuſal of the arm-chair 'too much at heart, to hearken to any reaſons that could be 'brought againſt his deſign, and ſent Danckelman, his miniſ-'ter's brother, to Vienna, to impart to the emperor the ſcheme 'which he had formed to erect Pruſſia into a kingdom.'

After many negociations, a variety of political intrigues, and much evaſion and delay, the project at length ſucceeded, and the emperor conſented to it on ſeveral conditions, two of which were, that "the elector ſhould never withdraw from the "empire the provinces of his dominions thereon depending;" and that "in the emperor's preſence he ſhould require no other "diſtinctions than thoſe which he before enjoyed." The king of England, and ſeveral other princes of Europe, concurred in this meaſure: but prince Eugene, foreſeeing that it would not be favourable to the imperial dignity, declared, that "the "emperor ought to have hanged the miniſter, who gave the "pernicious advice of conſenting to the erection of this up-"ſtart royalty."

Frederick I. was crowned king of Pruſſia, at Konigſberg, on the 18th of January, 1701. The ceremony was performed with extraordinary magnificence, and all the perſons concerned in it went through their parts with great exactneſs. One irregularity only was committed, which Pollnitz has recorded. 'The queen herſelf,' ſays he, 'was the only perſon that got a 'reprimand, and that was by her taking ſome ſnuff. Her 'throne being over-againſt the king's, ſhe watched a long time 'for an opportunity, and when ſhe thought his majeſty did not 'obſerve her, ſhe ſtole out her ſnuff-box. The king happening 'to turn his eyes towards her the very ſame moment, ſhe would 'fain have concealed it; but his majeſty's countenance was ſo 'fixed on her, that ſhe was convinced he perceived it; and in-'deed this prince, who was upon this occaſion not to be trifled

'bronze; on one ſide is ſeen the buſt of the 'king, with the uſual inſcription, *Fredericus II. Rex* CHAP. III. A. D. 1740.

'with, immediately ordered one of his gentlemen who was be-'hind him, to go and aſk the queen in his name, *Whether ſhe 'remembered the place where ſhe was, and the rank ſhe held there?*'

But though SOPHIA CHARLOTTE, the firſt queen of Pruſſia, was guilty of the high crime of taking ſnuff during the ceremony of the coronation, ſhe was, notwithſtanding, a very amiable princeſs. She was ſiſter to George I. king of England, was beautiful in her perſon, loved muſic, was much attached to literature, and a great encourager of profeſſors of the fine arts. She was well read in hiſtory, natural philoſophy, and theology, and ſpoke moſt of the European languages with eaſe.

Her grandſon, Frederick III, in his *Memoirs of the Houſe of Brandenburgh*, ſays of her, that 'ſhe was a princeſs of ſingular 'merit, in whom were joined all the charms of her ſex, with 'the graces of wit, and the ſolidity of reaſon. In her younger 'days ſhe had travelled into Italy and France, under the care 'of her relations. She was deſigned for the crown of France, 'Lewis XIV. having been ſtruck with her beauty; but poli-'tical reaſons defeated this marriage. This princeſs brought 'along with her the ſpirit of ſociability, true politeneſs, and 'the love of arts and ſciences into Pruſſia. She founded the 'royal academy. She invited Leibnitz, and ſeveral other learned 'men to her court; her curioſity leading her to inquire into 'the firſt principles of things. One day, as ſhe preſſed Leib-'nitz very hard upon this ſubject, this philoſopher replied to 'her, "Madam, there is no poſſibility of ſatisfying you: you "want to know the why and the wherefore." Charlottenburg '(where ſhe reſided) was the rendezvous of the people of taſte; 'and the great variety of diverſions and entertainments contri-'buted to render this abode delightful, and the court moſt 'ſplendid. Sophia Charlotte had a great and noble ſoul: her 'religion was pure, her temper ſweet, and her mind was im-

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'*Rex Borruſſiæ*; and on the exergue, his majeſty's 'motto, *Pro patria & pro gloria.* The reverſe re- 'preſents the city of Konigſberg, over which is

'proved by the reading of good books both in French and Italian. She died at Hanover among her own relations. They 'wanted to introduce a Calviniſt miniſter into her apartment; 'but ſhe ſaid to them, "Let me die in peace, without diſputing." Upon this occaſion one of the ladies of honour, 'whom ſhe was very fond of, was diſſolved in tears. "Do "not cry for me, ſays ſhe, for I am going now to ſatisfy my "curioſity on the principles of things, which Leibnitz could "not explain to me, on ſpace, infinity, on being, on nothing; "and I am preparing for the king my huſband the ſhew of my "funeral, where he will have another opportunity to diſplay "his magnificence."

Poſſnitz ſays, that 'M. de la Bergerie, the miniſter of the 'French church, who aſſiſted her in her laſt moments, was ſo 'ſurprized at her courage and calmneſs, that he was more at- 'tentive to hear her than to exhort her. "I have," ſaid ſhe, "for twenty years ſeriouſly ſtudied my religion, and have read "the books that treated of it with too much application to "be in any doubt as to my principles. You cannot mention "any thing to me but what I have read, and what you can ſay "to me will certainly add nothing to my opinion."

She died at Hanover, on a viſit to her mother, the electreſs of Hanover, on the firſt of February, 1705, in the 37th year of her age. Her body was conveyed to Berlin, where it was interred with great magnificence. This princeſs had formed ideas of government ſo equitable, and ſo extremely different from thoſe which prevailed in Pruſſia, that ſhe was often ſtiled by the Germans THE REPUBLICAN QUEEN. Her unamiable ſon, FREDERICK WILLIAM, of whom ſo much has been ſaid both in the text and in the notes, ſeems to have derived none of *his* ideas of government from his amiable mother.

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'an eagle with extended wings, and these words, 'Rex natura [53].'

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In a few days after his accession Frederick had written to M. SUHM, assuring him, that his change of title had made no alteration in his sentiments, and that he earnestly wished him to quit his present situation at Petersburgh, and to come and reside with him. 'I can now,' says he, 'tell you 'in a positive manner, that your being with me 'depends only on yourself, and that I only wait 'to know your resolution, and in what situation 'you will choose to be placed. It will be a great 'consolation, in the affliction that I am under on 'account of the death of my father, to find with 'me a friend that I love and esteem. Use your 'endeavours to engage on my behalf M. EULER, 'the great algebraist [o]; and, if you can, bring 'him

[53] Letters, vol. III. p. 193.

[o] LEONARD EULER was born at Basil, on the 14th of April, 1707. His father, Paul Euler, who was a country clergyman, intended him for his own profession, and himself initiated him in some branches of learning, particularly the mathematicks. He was afterwards sent to the university of Basil, where he regularly attended the different professors. As he had a prodigious memory, he performed his academical exercises with great rapidity; and the time which he thereby gained was dedicated to geometry, which soon became his favourite study. The ardour with which he applied himself to the mathematicks, and the progress that he made, excited the notice and attention of professor John Bernouilli, who was at that time one of the first mathematicians in Europe, and of whom in a short time he became the favourite pupil. But as the occupations of Bernouilli

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'him with you. I will give him a penſion of a 'thouſand or twelve hundred crowns [54].' The king

nouilli would not admit of his giving ſo much of his time to his indefatigable pupil as Euler deſired, he appointed one day in the week for removing the difficulties, which his diſciple had met with in peruſing the works of the moſt profound mathematicians. In 1723, M. Euler took the degree of maſter of arts, and delivered on that occaſion a Latin diſcourſe, in which he drew a compariſon between the philoſophy of Newton and the Carteſian ſyſtem, which was received with great applauſe. At the deſire of his father, he afterwards applied himſelf to the ſtudy of theology, and the oriental languages. Though theſe ſtudies were not agreeable to his prevailing taſte, his ſucceſs was conſiderable even in this line; but, with his father's permiſſion, he returned again to geometry, as his principal object.

He continued to avail himſelf of the counſels and inſtructions of M. Bernouilli, and contracted an intimate friendſhip with his two ſons, Nicholas and Daniel. They were invited to the academy of ſciences at Peterſburgh in 1725; and by their recommendation he afterwards obtained an eſtabliſhment in it. In the mean time, he addicted himſelf cloſely to the ſtudy of phyſiology, to which he made a happy application of his mathematical knowledge. But this ſtudy did not wholly engroſs his time; he applied his mind to other branches of natural ſcience; and in 1727, publiſhed a *Diſſertation on the nature and propagation of ſound.* He was ſoon after invited to Peterſburgh, and made joint-profeſſor with his countrymen, Meſſ. Hermann and Daniel Bernouilli, in the univerſity of that city. He ſpeedily enriched the academical collection with many Memoirs, which excited a noble emulation between him and Daniel Bernouilli; and this emulation they always continued, without either degenerating into a ſelfiſh jealouſy, or producing the leaſt

[54] Letters, vol. III. p. 114, 115.

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king alſo gave M. Suhm directions about the immediate payment of the debts, that he had contracted

alteration in their friendſhip. It was at this time that he carried to new degrees of perfection the integral calculus, invented the calculation of ſinuſſes, reduced analytical operations to a greater ſimplicity, and thus was enabled to throw new light on various branches of mathematical ſcience.

In 1730, he was promoted to the profeſſorſhip of natural philoſophy; and in 1733, he ſucceeded his friend Daniel Bernouilli in the mathematical chair. In 1735, a problem was propoſed by the academy, which required expedition, and for the ſolution of which ſeveral eminent mathematicians had required the ſpace of ſome months. The problem was ſolved by Euler in three days, to the great aſtoniſhment of the academy; but the violent and laborious efforts that it coſt him threw him into a fever, which endangered his life, and deprived him of the uſe of his right eye.

The academy of ſciences at Paris, which, in 1738, had adjudged the prize to his *Memoir concerning the nature and properties of fire*, propoſed, for the year 1740, the important ſubject of the *ſea-tides*, a problem the ſolution of which required the moſt arduous calculations, and comprehended the theory of the ſolar ſyſtem. Euler's diſcourſe on this queſtion was judged a maſter-piece of analyſis and geometry; and he ſhared the academical prize with thoſe great mathematicians Colin Maclaurin and Daniel Bernouilli.

Soon after the acceſſion of Frederick the Third to the throne of Pruſſia, he accepted of the invitation that was made to him by that monarch, and repaired to Berlin, where he enriched the *Melanges* of the Pruſſian academy with five memoirs, which make an eminent figure in that collection. Theſe were followed, with extraordinary rapidity, by many other important papers, which were publiſhed in the Memoirs of the Pruſſian academy, the firſt volume of which was printed in the year 1746.

Theſe

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tracted for him in Ruſſia, and of which mention has been made in the preceding chapter.

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Theſe labours of Euler will excite the more ſurprize, if it be conſidered, that while he was enriching the academy of Berlin with a great number of valuable and important memoirs, on the deepeſt parts of mathematical ſcience, he did not diſcontinue his philoſophical contributions to the academy of Peterſburgh, which granted him a penſion in 1742, and whoſe memoirs diſplay the aſtoniſhing fertility of Euler's genius. In 1747, he publiſhed a paper on the different diſperſion of the rays of light, as independent of their different refrangibility; which gave riſe to an important improvement of Mr. Dolland's, in the conſtruction of refracting teleſcopes. In the year 1766, he obtained, though not without great difficulty, permiſſion from the king of Pruſſia to return to Peterſburgh, where he wiſhed to paſs the remainder of his days.

Soon after his return, which was liberally rewarded by the munificence of Catharine II, he was ſeized with a violent diſorder, which terminated in the total loſs of his ſight. A cataract, formed in his left eye, which had been greatly injured by a too ardent application to ſtudy, entirely deprived him of the uſe of that organ. In this diſtreſſing ſituation, he dictated to his ſervant, who had been a taylor's apprentice, and was entirely deſtitute of mathematical knowledge, his *Elements of Algebra*. About this time he was honoured, by the academy of ſciences at Paris, with the place of one of the foreign members of that learned body; and the academical prize was afterwards adjudged to three of his memoirs concerning the *Inequalities in the motions of the Planets*. The two prize queſtions, propoſed by the ſame academy, for 1770 and 1772, were deſigned to obtain from the labours of aſtronomers a more perfect *Theory of the Moon*. M. Euler, aſſiſted by his eldeſt ſon, was a competitor for theſe prizes, and obtained them both.

Some

THE letters written by Frederick to M. Suhm contained the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of regard and affection CHAP. III. A. D. 1740.

Some time after this, the famous Wentzel, by couching the cataract, reſtored M. Euler's ſight; but the ſatisfaction and joy that this ſucceſsful operation produced, were of ſhort duration. Some inſtances of negligence on the part of his ſurgeons, and his own impatience to uſe an organ, the cure of which was not completely finiſhed, deprived him of his ſight a ſecond time; and this relapſe was attended with extreme pain. Notwithſtanding this misfortune, he ſtill continued his labours. Neither the loſs of his ſight, nor the infirmities of advanced age, could damp the ardour of his genius. In 1773, he publiſhed, in two volumes, 4to. his *Theorie complette de la conſtruction et de la manœuvre des vaiſſeaux*. This work was immediately tranſlated into ſeveral languages, and the author received a preſent of ſix thouſand livres from the French king. Three hundred pounds had before been given him by the parliament of England, for the theorems, by the aſſiſtance of which Meyer made his Lunar tables.

On the 7th of September, 1783, M. Euler was playing with one of his grand-children at tea-time, when he was ſeized with an apoplectic fit, which carried him off in a few hours, in the ſeventy-ſeventh year of his age. His works are very numerous, and he left behind him a great number of manuſcripts on mathematical and phyſical ſubjects, many of which have been ſince publiſhed in the academical memoirs of Peterſburgh. He had an extraordinary memory, and could repeat the Æneid of Virgil, from the beginning to the end, without heſitation, and indicate the firſt and the laſt line of every page of the edition he uſed. He had great vivacity and chearfulneſs of temper, and a high degree of integrity and humanity; to which were added, a ſincere and rational piety, and a firm faith in the great truths of Chriſtianity. He was twice married, and had thirteen children, four of whom only ſurvived him; but from theſe

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affection for him; which ſeem to have been ſincerely returned on the part of M. Suhm, though his letters were too much tinctured with flattery. He appears, indeed, almoſt to have adored the prince, and to have placed all his hopes of happineſs on his acceſſion to the throne, and on entering into his ſervice. He obtained leave to quit his ſtation at Peterſburgh, and alſo an honourable diſmiſſion from his own court, and ſet out on his journey to the court of his favourite prince. His health had for ſome time not been in a favourable ſtate, and his journey made him worſe; and, before he could reach the Pruſſian dominions, death put an end to all his flattering expectations. He died at Warſaw, from whence he wrote a very pathetic letter to the king, in which he recommended

theſe children he had thirty-eight grand-children, twenty-ſix of whom were alive in 1784. M. Nicolas Fuſs, who had been one of his pupils, ſays, "It was a moſt pleaſing and affecting ſpectacle to ſee the venerable old man, ſitting like a "patriarch in the midſt of his numerous family, all zealous in "rendering the evening of his life ſerene and agreeable, by "every tender office, and mark of attention, that the warmeſt "filial affection could ſuggeſt." Of his three ſons, the eldeſt, M. L. A. Euler, became very eminent as a mathematician, and ſucceeded his father in the univerſity of Peterſburgh; the ſecond became phyſician to the empreſs of Ruſſia; and the third entered into the army, where he obtained conſiderable preferment, and alſo diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his aſtronomical obſervations. Vid. *Eloge de M. Leonard Euler, par N. Fuſs*, ed. 4to. Berlin, 1784, and Monthly Review, vol. LXXIII. p. 496—503.

to

to his care his ſiſter and his children, and for whom Frederick made a liberal proviſion. CHAP. III. A. D. 1740.

Soon after his acceſſion, Frederick alſo wrote to VOLTAIRE, ROLLIN, and MAUPERTUIS; and he earneſtly requeſted the latter to come to Berlin, in order to aſſiſt in the eſtabliſhment of a new academy of ſciences in that city. He likewiſe wrote to count ALGAROTTI, who, as I have before obſerved, had been introduced to him at Rheinſberg before his acceſſion, and for whom he had conceived a great eſteem, ſoliciting him in very ſtrong terms to come to Berlin. The count accepted his invitation; and ſhortly after his arrival was appointed chamberlain to the king, and knight of the order of merit, with the title of privy-counſellor of war. Theſe honours were alſo accompanied with ſome complimentary verſes, which the king addreſſed to Algarotti on this occaſion [55]. He likewiſe wrote to WOLFIUS, ſoliciting him to come and ſettle in his dominions; and as Wolfius was now in Sweden, and under obligations to the Swediſh monarch, Frederick himſelf wrote to that prince to obtain his permiſſion. Wolfius [P] then quitted Sweden, and repaired to

[55] Life of count Algarotti, prefixed to the ſecond edition of the Engliſh tranſlation of his Letters Military and Political, p. 7, 8.

[P] CHRISTIAN WOLFIUS, or WOLFF, was the ſon of a tradeſman of Breſlaw, the capital of Sileſia, where he was born on the 24th of January, in the year 1679. He gave very early indications of an extraordinary capacity, and of a ſtrong propenſity

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to Halle, where he was very honourably received, being firſt made vice-chancellor, and afterwards chancellor

penſity to learning. His father, though engaged in trade, was not untinctured with literature; and from him he imbibed the principles of piety and virtue, and alſo received his firſt inſtructions in the Latin language. As he was intended by his father for the church, when he was about eight years of age, he was ſent to the *Gymnaſium*, or college, at Breſlaw; where, under excellent maſters, he made a great progreſs, not only in languages, but in the ſciences. From the divinity-lectures of Dr. Newman, of Breſlaw, he firſt came to ſee the imperfections of the ſchool philoſophy, and to form the deſign of one day improving philoſophy, and rendering it more uſeful. He not only attended the divinity lectures of Dr. Newman, but alſo peruſed, with great care, the theological ſyſtems of ſeveral Lutheran divines, as well as of Calviniſts and Roman Catholics. But theſe ſtudies did not prevent him from applying himſelf in ſome degree to the mathematics; though he had no opportunity of making any great progreſs therein at Breſlaw, as nothing but the uſe of the globes, and drawing geometrical figures, was taught there. By dint of cloſe application, however, he made himſelf maſter of arithmetic and algebra, and acquired ſome knowledge of geometry.

In 1699, he went to the univerſity of Jena, where he ſtudied mathematics and natural philoſophy under profeſſor Hamberger. He alſo applied himſelf to juriſprudence and divinity. In 1702, he went to Leipſic, in order to take there his degree in philoſophy; but he afterwards returned again to Jena, and applied himſelf to the ſtudy of aſtronomy. He alſo peruſed with great care Barrow's Geometrical Lectures, and Nieuwentyt's Analyſis Infinitorum, and Elements of Algebra; and made a great progreſs in the mathematical ſciences.

With a view to teach the mathematics he now repaired to Leipſic; and in order to obtain the privilege of reading lectures there,

chancellor of the university. He was also made a privy counsellor, and professor of the law of nature and nations. CHAP. III. A. D. 1740.

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there, he defended a dissertation, which he had drawn up at Jena, entitled, *De Philosophia practica universali, methodo mathematica conscripta.* This was his first public attempt, but so excellent in its kind, that it obtained him great applause; and Otto Menkenius was so well pleased with it, that he took Wolfius as an assistant in publishing the *Acta Eruditorum.* As soon as he had obtained the privilege of holding public lectures, he immediately began to teach the mathematics; nor did he neglect the other sciences. He explained natural philosophy out of Sturmius, and took great pains in teaching logic and metaphysics in a better way than had been usually done: but his manner of teaching was in great part borrowed from Descartes.

In 1706, he was invited to the mathematical chair at Halle; he accepted the invitation; and taught the mathematics there for many years with general applause. In 1709, he published, in Latin, his *Aërometria*, a performance which procured him the honour of being elected a fellow of the royal society of London. The royal society of Berlin soon after followed the example, thinking it dishonourable to them, that foreigners should take notice of a man, whom they had themselves neglected. About this time he published his German Elements of the Mathematics, in four volumes, 8vo. and also his table of sines and tangents. In 1712, he published his "Logic, or Rational Thoughts on "the powers of the Human Understanding, with their use and "application in the knowledge and search of Truth." This was well received, and passed through many editions. An English translation was published of it, in 1770, by Mr. Alexander Macbean. His Logic was followed by his Latin Mathematical Elements, in two volumes, 4to. and he soon after printed his *Lexicon Mathematicum.* In 1718, he published a treatise on the true cause of the wonderful multiplication of corn; and the following

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THE acceſſion of Frederick was celebrated by Voltaire, in an elegant poetical epiſtle which he addreſſed

lowing year his "*Metaphyſics*, or rational thoughts on God, "the world, the ſoul of man, &c."

In 1721, he publiſhed his Civil Philoſophy, or Politicks; and the ſame year he pronounced, in the univerſity, a Latin diſcourſe on the morality of the Chineſe, and their great philoſopher Confucius. After beſtowing many encomiums on the Chineſe moral philoſophy, he endeavoured to ſhew how ſimilar its principles were to doctrines that he had himſelf advanced. This diſcourſe gave ſo much offence to the theological faculty at Halle, that a great clamour was raiſed againſt him, his other works were formally examined, and a charge was exhibited againſt him at Berlin, of maintaining dangerous and heretical opinions. One article of accuſation was, that he had aſſerted, that God, by one eternal and wiſe decree, had pre-ordained, and pre-determined all things. Dr. Lange wrote againſt him, and charged him with teaching a blind fatality. Frederick William himſelf was at length ſo incenſed againſt him, that on the 8th of November, 1723, an order was ſent to the univerſity to ſtrip Wolfius of all his honours and employments, and to command him, in forty-eight hours, to quit the king of Pruſſia's dominions, under pain of being hanged. He left Halle in about twelve hours after the orders for his expulſion arrived, taking leave but of very few of his friends, and leaving behind him his wife, big with child, and an only ſon, about a year old. He retired to Merſeburg, in the territory of Saxony; and from thence removed to Caſſel; after which he obtained the profeſſorſhip of mathematics and philoſophy, in the univerſity of Marpurg, with the title of counſellor to the landgrave of Heſſe, to which a conſiderable penſion was annexed. Here he re-aſſumed his labours with redoubled ardour, and here he publiſhed many of his pieces.

His

addreſſed to him; and in which he obſerved, that philoſophy had nothing now to fear, becauſe that Socrates

His lectures at Marpurg were attended by a great reſort of ſtudents from all parts of Germany, from Switzerland, Holland, Denmark, and Sweden. He was ſtrongly invited to accept of an eſtabliſhment in Ruſſia; and, though he declined it, he was declared an honorary profeſſor of the academy of ſciences at Peterſburgh, with a yearly appointment of three hundred dollars, which he enjoyed during life. In the mean time Frederick William, whoſe prejudices againſt him were removed, preſſed him to return again into the Pruſſian dominions; but this he declined, till the acceſſion of Frederick III. when he was reinſtated at the univerſity of Halle, with additional honours. In 1745, the elector of Bavaria, then adminiſtrator of the empire, raiſed Wolfius to the dignity of a baron. He died at Halle, of the gout in his ſtomach, on the 9th of April, 1754, in the ſeventy-ſixth year of his age, after having compoſed in Latin and German more than ſixty diſtinct pieces. Wolfius was married, in 1716, to a young lady of Halle, by whom he had two ſons, one of whom ſurvived him, and became baron Wolfius.

Wolfius poſſeſſed conſiderable talents, and was the author of many elaborate works; but his abilities, and the merit of his productions, appear to have been much over-rated by ſome of the German writers. By others, his writings have been accuſed of verboſeneſs, and he has been cenſured for his bad Latin; and it has been ſaid of him by one writer, that he has "overwhelmed the ſyſtem of Leibnitz by a load of volumes, and by a deluge of words, arguments, corollaries, and citations." It appears, that Wolfius thought very highly of his own works, and expreſſed that opinion ſomewhat freely. He frequently refers to his own pieces; in the preface to the third edition of his Logic, he ſays, "I have always reckoned, that what this little book contains, is among the beſt things I know;" and

CHAP. III. A. D. 1740.

Socrates was upon the throne, and truth reigned. Already, he ſaid, from the virtues of Frederick, the neighbouring princes were all his allies; while his ſubjects were his children, and every honeſt man his brother. Frederick, he added, was a hero in every thing, becauſe that in every thing he was juſt; and becauſe he was ſenſible, that he would deſerve the title of hero, in the eyes of wiſe men, more by his acts of beneficence, than by his warlike exploits. As on the preſent occaſion Voltaire appeared in the character of a poet, he indulged himſelf a little in the poetical licence of dealing in fiction.

ABOUT this time the king of Pruſſia viſited ſeveral parts of his dominions, and received the homage of his ſubjects. He then had a deſire to view the frontiers and troops of France; and accordingly went *incognito* to Straſburgh, accompanied by his brother, the prince-royal, and by count Algarotti. He aſſumed the title of the count du Four, a nobleman of Bohemia, and his brother had alſo his travelling title; but Algarotti went by his real name [56]. They travelled in two coaches, and had but few attendants; but among theſe was Frederſtorf, the king's firſt valet de chambre. When they came to Kehl, the landlord informed

in that treatiſe he alſo ſays, that "by his Experimental Eſſays "in Philoſophy, he had paved the way to a ſolid knowledge of "nature and art."

[56] Memoirs of Voltaire, p. 56.

Frederſ-

Frederſtorf, that count Four would have occaſion for a paſſport, after he had croſſed the bridge over the Rhine. Frederſtorf drew one up, and the king ſigned it, and ſealed it with the Pruſſian arms, which he had upon his ſeal. The landlord, whoſe curioſity had led him to watch his gueſts, ſaw what was done from an adjoining cloſet; and when Frederſtorf came out of the room in which the king was, he ſaid to him, "Count Four is the "king of Pruſſia, Sir; I ſaw him ſign his name." Frederſtorf acknowledged to the landlord that he was right in his conjecture, and bribed him to keep the ſecret [57]. CHAP. III. A. D. 1746.

WHEN they came to Straſburgh, the king and his brother put up at different inns, that they might be leſs liable to ſuſpicion; and they provided themſelves with French dreſſes. Towards evening the king went to the coffee-houſe, where he ſoon became acquainted with ſeveral officers, who appeared to be agreeable men, and whom he invited to ſup with him at his inn. They readily accepted his invitation; ſaying to each other, "Come, let "us go and ſee what this Bohemian count is made "of." Frederick could at all times, when he pleaſed, render himſelf a very agreeable companion; and his new acquaintances remarked, that he had a great deal of wit for a German, and that he ſpoke very good French. As he had given them an excellent ſupper, the officers had ſo much

[57] Bielfeld, vol. III. p. 229, 230.

CHAP. III. A. D. 1740.

regard for their new friend, that they went again the next morning to drink chocolate with him; and one of them invited the king to ſup with him in the evening, but this he found means to decline. After dinner he went on the parade, and there he is ſaid to have been known by a ſoldier of the garriſon, who had formerly ſerved in the Pruſſian army, and who communicated the intelligence of the king's arrival to the governor of Straſburgh. Frederick viſited the governor under his aſſumed title; but the governor gave him to underſtand that he knew him, at which the king was diſguſted. He afterwards went to the French comedy, and then returned to ſup at his inn. On the morning of the third day after his arrival, it was rumoured throughout the town, that the king of Pruſſia was at Straſburgh. A taylor, who had been employed to make him a ſuit of cloaths, refuſed to take any thing in payment; telling Frederſtorf, that he was ſatisfied with having had the honour to work for ſo great a monarch. A handſome preſent was, however, given him; and he was enjoined ſilence. The ſame day the king ſaw the citadel, and all the curioſities of Straſburgh: but in the evening bonfires were lighted in different parts of the city, and the people cried out in ſeveral places, "Long live "the king of Pruſſia." The theatre was alſo crowded with ſpectators, who hoped that the king would have appeared again at the comedy; but they were diſappointed [58].

[58] Bielfeld, vol. III. p. 232.

THE

THE original design of Frederick was, to have proceeded from Strasburg to Paris; but finding himself thus discovered, he changed his intentions, and set off early the next morning for Wesel. He wrote a letter to Voltaire, partly in prose, and partly in verse, containing a facetious account of his journey to Strasburgh; and in which he took some notice of the knavery of inn-keepers, and the great expences of his journey. Voltaire afterwards remarked, that it appeared from this letter, that Frederick's philosophy "did not look with "total indifference on the metal, of which his "father had made such ample provision [59]."

CHAP. III. A. D. 1740.

VOLTAIRE was at this time at Brussels; and the king of Prussia appointed him to have an interview with him at the Chateau de Meuse, two leagues from Cleves. Thither Voltaire accordingly repaired; but found his majesty, who had been seized with an ague, ill in bed. "I made my bow," says he, "and began my acquaintance by feeling his "pulse, as if I had been his first physician [60]." Frederick had sent to him the manuscript, that he might cause it to be printed, of his refutation of the principles of Machiavel. In allusion to this, Voltaire said to him, at their first interview, "Sire, "had I been Machiavel, and been permitted to "have access to a young king, my first advice to "him would have been, to answer my works [61]."

[59] Memoirs, p. 40. [60] Ibid. p. 42.

[61] Historical Memoirs of the Author of the Henriade, 8vo. Lond. 1777. p. 30.

CHAP. III. A. D. 1740.

IT ſoon, indeed, appeared, that the principles of the king of Pruſſia were not totally inconſiſtent with thoſe of Machiavel. At the very time that Voltaire had his firſt interview with him, Frederick was engaged in an enterprize againſt the prince-biſhop of Liege, which he conducted in ſuch a manner, as proved him to be more influenced by maxims of policy than by thoſe of juſtice. He was at this time attended at the chateau de Meuſe by Monſ. Rambonet, miniſter of ſtate, and privy counſellor, and by the Dutch ambaſſador; and alſo by Maupertuis and Algarotti [q]. After Voltaire

[q] Count FRANCIS ALGAROTTI was born at Venice in the year 1712, and deſcended from an opulent and antient patrician family. From his earlieſt youth he diſcovered a ſtrong propenſity to literature; and being a younger brother, and poſſeſſed though of a ſmall, yet independent fortune, he had the means of indulging his inclination. With this view his father ſent him to Rome; where, in the Nazarene college, he laid the foundation of his ſtudies, and completed them afterwards at Venice and Bologna. He had made a great progreſs in the Latin and Greek languages, after which he endeavoured to make himſelf a maſter of the Engliſh and the French, and then applied himſelf to mathematics and natural philoſophy. Having a taſte for painting, he alſo thought ſome knowledge of the conſtruction of the human body requiſite; and, therefore, employed a part of his time in anatomical inquiries. He attended the anatomical diſſections of Caldoni, and drew up a treatiſe of anatomy for his own uſe, in order to render his knowledge of that ſcience the more accurate. He then proceeded to the ſtudy of hiſtory, mythology, criticiſm, and the belles lettres. Having completed his ſtudies, he travelled over the different parts

of

taire had been introduced to him, when his ague fit was over, Frederick roſe, and ſupped with Voltaire, CHAP. III. A. D. 1704.

of Italy, and then paſſed through Switzerland, Germany, France, England, and Ruſſia, viſiting the principal courts of Europe. His rank, learning, agreeable temper, and accompliſhed manners, every where procured him a favourable reception; and he contracted many friendſhips in the different countries through which he paſſed.

His *Congreſs of Cythera*, which is a kind of elegant ſatire on the peculiar modes, ſentiments, and habits of the Engliſh, French, and Italians, in affairs of love and gallantry, was publiſhed in Italian about the year 1744. It was well received, and paſſed through ſeveral editions. Voltaire, in one of his letters to the count, expreſſes himſelf thus concerning this piece: "I "have read, and re-read, and ſhall read again, your *Congreſs*; "which the graces themſelves have dictated, and which you "have written with a feather drawn from the wings of love." He alſo publiſhed dialogues on the Newtonian Doctrine of Light and Colours, which was tranſlated into many languages; and an Eſſay on Rhime, and on the neceſſity of writing in our native language.

In the courſe of his travels, count Algarotti took a ſingular pleaſure in collecting whatever rarities he could meet with, in the different places through which he paſſed; among which may be reckoned the priſms uſed by Sir Iſaac Newton in his experiments. That great man's niece made him a preſent of them; and they are ſtill preſerved, as a moſt valuable relick, in the Algarotti family. Much of the count's life was ſpent in travelling; but after the acceſſion of Frederick III. to the throne of Pruſſia, he reſided ſome years chiefly at that court. In his youth he had enjoyed a tolerable ſtate of health; but too cloſe an application to his ſtudies, the fatigues of travel, and change of climate, by degrees undermined a conſtitution that was naturally delicate. Towards the cloſe of his life he became extremely

CHAP. III. A. D. 1740.

taire, Maupertuis, Algarotti, and the Dutch ambaſſador. "At ſupper," ſays Voltaire, "we treated "moſt

ſubject to nervous diſorders, and hypochondriacal complaints; which obliged him to leave Germany, and to ſeek for an alleviation of his infirmities in the milder air of his native country. This, however, did not prevent him from falling gradually into a conſumption, which carried him off, in 1764, at Piſa, when he had juſt completed his fifty-ſecond year. He had borne the encroachments of this tedious diſorder with the moſt philoſophical reſolution; and on the very day of his death, he had paſſed the morning in a converſation on painting and architecture; in the afternoon, he had part of a new edition of his works, then printing, read over to him; and in the evening he was entertained by a concert of vocal and inſtrumental muſic in his apartment. He may, therefore, it has been remarked, truly be ſaid to have died in the arms of the muſes. He bequeathed, by his will, a capital painting to the king of Pruſſia, two paintings, and a ring of great value to Mr. Pitt, for whom he had a high reſpect, with other legacies to many of his friends. A very ſuperb monument was erected to his memory, in the cathedral of Piſa, at the expence of the king of Pruſſia; and which is ornamented with a fine emblematical painting by Bianconi. On the painting is the following inſcription; *Algarotto, Ovidii æmulo, Neutono diſcipulo, Fredericus Magnus:* and on the ſtone, *Algarottus, non omnis*; which the count had particularly deſired to be engraved upon his tomb.

Count Algarotti was a man of very amiable diſpoſitions and manners, of many accompliſhments, and an ingenious, elegant, and pleaſing writer. Beſides the pieces already mentioned, he alſo wrote letters to lord Hervey and the marquis Scipio Maffei, containing an account of the ſtate of the trade, marine, revenues, and forces of the Ruſſian empire, of which an Engliſh tranſlation was publiſhed, in two ſmall volumes, in 1769. An Engliſh tranſlation was alſo publiſhed of ſome ingenious letters

of

" moſt profoundly on the immortality of the ſoul, CHAP. III.
" natural liberty, and the *Androgynes* of Plato.— A. D.
" While we were thus philoſophizing upon free- 1740.
" dom, the privy counſellor, Rambonet, was
" mounted upon a poſt-horſe, and riding all night
" towards Liege, at the gates of which he arrived

of his, in one volume, 8vo. in 1782, under the title of " Let-
" ters military and political." The originals of theſe, as of all his other works, are in Italian. His Eſſay on the Opera, written with a view to reform it, was dedicated to Mr. Pitt. His Eſſay on Painting, which was publiſhed in 1763, was dedicated to the Engliſh ſociety for promoting arts, manufactures, and commerce, of which he was a member, as he was alſo of the Royal and Antiquarian Societies. The ſame year he publiſhed, at Leghorn, his Eſſay on the French academy for painting at Rome, with a dedication to Mr. Thomas Hollis, containing ſome very high encomiums on the Engliſh nation. The count had a great friendſhip for Mr. Hollis, and much eſteem for him, on account of his ardent attachment to liberty, literature, and the arts. Count Algarotti alſo wrote the Life of Pallavicini, Thoughts on various ſubjects philological and philoſophical, ſeventeen epiſtles in verſe, after the manner of Horace, ſome Anacreontic odes and ſonnets, and other pieces. A compleat edition of his works was printed at Leghorn, in eight volumes, 12mo.

Of all the different capitals that count Algarotti viſited, there was none he had ſo ſtrong an attachment to as London. Here he reſided for a conſiderable time, and made himſelf well acquainted with the Engliſh manners, and form of government. It has been ſaid of him, that he was a ſtrenuous admirer of Engliſh liberty; and that though an Italian by birth, and by education a Catholic, yet he was an Engliſhman in his ſoul, and a Whig in principle. Vid. the Preface to the Engliſh tranſlation of his " Letters military and political."

" the

CHAP. III. A. D. 1740.

"the next day, where he proclaimed, with found "of trumpet, the name of the king his maſter, "while two thouſand ſoldiers from Weſel were "laying the city of Liege under contribution [R]."

THIS

[R] Voltaire, very little to his own honour, informs us, that he drew up a manifeſto himſelf for Frederick on this occaſion. 'The pretext,' ſays he, 'for this fine expedition was 'certain rights, which his majeſty pretended to have over a 'part of the ſuburbs. It was to me he committed the taſk of 'drawing up the manifeſto, which I performed as well as the 'nature of the caſe would let me; never ſuſpecting that a king, 'with whom I ſupped, and who called me his friend, could 'poſſibly be in the wrong. The affair was ſoon brought to a 'concluſion, by the payment of a million of livres, which he 'exacted in good hard ducats, and which ſerved to defray the 'expences of his tour to Straſburgh, concerning which he com'plained ſo loudly in his poetic proſe epiſtle.' *Memoirs*, p. 44.

Voltaire alſo ſays, that he perſuaded the king not to publiſh his *Anti-Machiavel* at the preſent criſis. 'I repreſented to him,' ſays he, 'that perhaps it was not altogether prudent to print his 'book, juſt at the time that the world might reproach him 'with having violated the principles he taught; and he permit'ted me to ſtop the impreſſion. I accordingly took a journey 'into Holland, purpoſely to do him this trifling ſervice; but 'the bookſeller demanded ſo much money, that his majeſty, 'who was not, in the bottom of his heart, vexed to ſee him'ſelf in print, was better pleaſed to be ſo for nothing, than to 'pay for not being ſo.'—'I could not avoid feeling ſome re'morſe, at being concerned in printing this Anti-Machiavelian 'book, at the very moment that the king of Pruſſia, who had 'a hundred millions in his coffers, was robbing the poor peo'ple at Liege of another, by the hands of the privy counſellor 'Rambonet.' *Ibid.* p. 47, 48.

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CHAP. III. A. D. 1740.

This attack against the city of Liege, was founded upon a claim which the king of Prussia had set up, of two districts in the possession of the bishop of Liege, called Herstal and Hermal. One of these districts includes the suburbs of the city of Liege itself. Frederick sent a commissary to demand the homage of the inhabitants; but they refused him admission, and would not take the oath of fidelity, declaring, that they acknowledged no sovereign but the bishop. Bielfeld says also, that the bishop arrested colonel Kreytzen, whom the king had sent to him as his envoy. However that be, it appears, that Frederick sent a letter to the bishop, in which he complained of the violation of his right, and the contempt of his authority, charged the prelate with countenancing the late act of disobedience, and demanded a categorical answer in two days. In three days an answer was returned, in which the bishop observed, that his right of sovereignty in the two lordships was founded upon a grant of the emperor Charles V. which had been guaranteed by France and Spain. He also alleged, that his predecessors had enjoyed this grant above a century; that he had supported his rights without the least design of prejudicing those of Prussia; but, in order to terminate all disputes,

The king of Prussia's book was printed under the following title: "L'Anti Machiavel; ou Examen du Prince de Machiavel, avec des notes historiques et politiques." It was reprinted at London, in one volume, 8vo. in 1741.

declared,

CHAP. III. A. D. 1740.

declared, that the ſtates of Liege having formerly agreed to purchaſe his Pruſſian majeſty's claim upon Herſtal for one hundred thouſand crowns, and to pay four per cent. intereſt till the principal was diſcharged, he was ready to perform that agreement under a proper guaranty [q]. But Frederick was not ſatisfied with this propoſition, nor with the contribution which he had levied on the inhabitants of Liege. He would not ſuffer his claim to be ſubjected to any altercations; but having publiſhed a manifeſto, in which he charged the biſhop with violence and injuſtice, and remarked, that the feudal laws allowed every man, whoſe poſſeſſion was with-held from him, to enter it with an armed force, he immediately diſpatched a body of troops into the conteſted diſtricts, "where they "lived without controul, exerciſing every kind of "military tyranny [s], till the cries of the inha- "bitants

[q] Memoirs of Frederick III. King of Pruſſia, 8vo. Lond. 1758. p. 26.

[s] One account ſays, that on the 13th of Auguſt, 1740, "two thouſand Pruſſian grenadiers and dragoons entered the "barony of Herſtal, where they live at diſcretion," *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. X. p. 472. In another account, (*London Mag.* for the year 1740, p. 459.) it is ſaid, that his Pruſſian majeſty cauſed his manifeſto againſt the biſhop to be publiſhed at Weſel on the 10th of Auguſt; "which manifeſto was on "the 13th followed by two thouſand Pruſſian grenadiers and "dragoons, who entered the barony of Herſtal at Maſeyck, "where they are to live at diſcretion, till the biſhop of Liege "agrees to do juſtice to his Pruſſian majeſty." That is, till he

" bitants forced the biſhop to relinquiſh them to " the quiet government of Pruſſia [61]." CHAP. III. A. D. 1740.

As the biſhops of Liege had been in poſſeſſion of the conteſted diſtricts more than a century, and as Frederick William, the late king of Pruſſia, though maſter of a conſiderable army, had not, any more than his predeceſſors, adopted any vigorous meaſures to gain poſſeſſion of them, it is not probable, that the claim of Frederick the Third was very well founded. At all events, his conduct on this occaſion was violent and unjuſt. The inhabitants of theſe diſtricts had been guilty of no crime, but that of avowing their allegiance to the prince whom they had been accuſtomed to obey, and whom they appear to have conſidered as their lawful ſovereign. When Frederick, therefore, ſent his troops to live upon the inhabitants of thoſe diſtricts at diſcretion, he committed an act of tyranny and cruelty, which nothing in the circumſtances of the caſe could juſtify. His conduct, in the whole tranſaction, might be well adapted to give an advantageous idea of the celerity of his motions; but was ill calculated to give any favourable impreſſions of his juſtice or humanity.

he gave up the territories in conteſt. Bielfeld ſays, " His ma- " jeſty has ordered ſome companies of grenadiers into that " biſhopric, where they live at diſcretion." *Letters*, vol. III. p. 233.

[61] Johnſon's Memoirs of the King of Pruſſia, p. 106.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Retrospective view of the gradual increase in power of the princes of the house of Brandenburgh.—The death of the emperor Charles VI.—Several princes of Europe endeavour to deprive his daughter, Maria Theresa, of the succession to the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria, which had been guarantied to her by the pragmatic sanction.—The king of Prussia enters Silesia at the head of a large body of troops, and lays claim to that province.—Fruitless negociation with the queen of Hungary.

CHAP. IV. A. D. 1740.

THE power of the house of Brandenburgh had been gradually augmented, from the time of the margrave Albert, who died in 1568, to the accession of Frederick III. The duchy of Prussia had been in possession of the knights and grand master of the Teutonic order; but they held it as vassals of Poland; and the margrave Albert, having procured himself to be elected grand master of that order, found means, after he had abjured the Romish religion, by betraying the interests of the knights with whom he was connected, to get himself made duke of that part of Prussia; which he was to hold as a fief of Poland. His son, Frederick Albert, afterwards received the investiture from Sigismund Augustus, king of Poland.[64]

[64] Memoirs of the House of Brandenburgh, vol. I. p. 48, 49.

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The ſucceeding princes of the houſe of Brandenburgh continued to hold the duchy of Pruſſia as a fief of Poland; and in 1641, Frederick William, ſurnamed the Great Elector, received in perſon the inveſtiture of Pruſſia from the hands of Ladiſlaus, king of Poland, and engaged to pay an annual tribute of 120,000 florins to that republic. But afterwards, by taking advantage of the troubles of Poland, he procured the duchy of Pruſſia to be erected into an independent ſovereignty. New territories were alſo afterwards added to it; beſides which were acquired the duchy of Cleves, the counties of Marck and Ravenſberg, the biſhoprics of Minden and Camin, and the eaſtern part of Pomerania, which was obtained by the treaty of Weſtphalia. More than half of Swediſh Pomerania was afterwards acquired by the houſe of Brandenburgh; and in 1701, Ducal Pruſſia was erected into a kingdom. And as the electors of Brandenburgh had greatly extended their dominions, ſo they had alſo augmented their power in thoſe dominions, and exerciſed a degree of arbitrary ſway, which was unknown to their anceſtors [T]. They had

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[T] Voltaire remarks, that Turkey itſelf is a republic, when compared to the deſpotiſm exerciſed in Pruſſia by Frederick William; and it is certain, that the power of the ſovereigns of Pruſſia was not diminiſhed in the reign of his ſon Frederick the Third.

The margraves of Brandenburgh were originally governors, appointed by the emperors of Germany, for the adminiſtration of

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had gradually, by various uſurpations, enlarged their authority; and the too tame acquieſcence of the people had eſtabliſhed their uſurped power.

BUT

of the internal government of the country under them, and to act as generals againſt foreign enemies or invaders. But in the year 1415, the emperor conferred the electoral dignity, and the office of great chamberlain of the empire, on Frederick I. of the houſe of Hohenzollern, and at the ſame time made him a preſent of the country of Brandenburgh, which he was to hold as a fief of the empire. He received the inveſtiture from the hands of the emperor, at the diet of Conſtance, in 1417. The government of Brandenburgh under this elector was, however, far from being deſpotic. An aſſembly of the ſtates ſtill ſubſiſted, who granted ſubſidies, regulated the taxes, and fixed the number of troops, which were never raiſed but when they were thought neceſſary. The ſtates were always conſulted on the meaſures proper to be taken for the defence of the country, and on the adminiſtration of juſtice and the police. The power of the ſucceeding electors was equally limited, till the time of George William, who, in 1631, conſulted the ſtates for the laſt time, and afterwards levied taxes by his own authority, and took all the power into his own hands, and thoſe of his miniſters.

In the time of the great elector, Frederick William, the duchy of Pruſſia had alſo an aſſembly of the ſtates, one of the members of which diſtinguiſhed himſelf by oppoſing the treaty of Braunſberg.

From theſe facts it appears, that the deſpotic power lately exerciſed by the electors of Brandenburgh, and kings of Pruſſia, is an uſurpation not only upon the natural rights of their ſubjects, but alſo upon their antient and conſtitutional rights. And the caſe of Pruſſia, as well as of many other nations of Europe, ſhould convince thoſe nations who have yet ſome liberties remaining, that they cannot be too vigilant in guarding againſt the encroachments of their princes. The Engliſh have often been

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BUT though the territories of the princes of the houſe of Brandenburgh, as well as their power, had been gradually, and greatly augmented, yet the extent of the dominions of Frederick III. as elector of Brandenburgh, and king of Pruſſia, was far from being adequate to his wiſhes, or ſuitable to the views of his ambition. His father had, however, left him a numerous and well diſciplined army, and immenſe ſums in his treaſury; and it ſoon appeared, that he would exert his utmoſt efforts to enlarge his territories, without being very ſcrupulous as to the means. This was in part manifeſted by his tranſaction with the biſhop of Liege, of which an account was given at the cloſe of the preceding chapter; and was rendered ſtill more apparent by ſubſequent events.

THE death of the emperor, Charles VI. the laſt male heir of the houſe of Auſtria, who died on the 29th of October, 1740, was an event that greatly intereſted all Europe, and awakened the ambition of ſome of its moſt powerful princes. By virtue of the Pragmatic ſanction, or law, by which

been reproached with being too jealous upon this head. They are ſaid to be alarmed for their liberties, when their liberties are not in danger. But it is to the vigilance with which they have guarded their national freedom, that they are indebted for its preſent exiſtence. Should they ever ceaſe to watch carefully over the conduct of thoſe to whom the powers of government are entruſted, and be inattentive to the encroachments of miniſters or princes, the period will then probably not be far diſtant, when they will ceaſe to be a free people.

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the ſucceſſion to the hereditary dominions of the houſe of Auſtria was ſecured to the female heirs of the emperor Charles VI. in caſe he ſhould die without male iſſue, that ſucceſſion devolved to the archduchefs Maria Thereſa, the emperor's eldeſt daughter, who was married to Francis of Lorrain, grand duke of Tuſcany. This immenſe inheritance comprehended the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, the province of Sileſia, Auſtrian Swabia, Upper and Lower Auſtria, Stiria, Carinthia, Carniola, the four Foreſt towns, Burgaw, Briſgau, the Low Countries, Friuli, Tirol, and the duchies of Milan, Parma, and Placentia [65].

THE pragmatic ſanction had been guarantied by almoſt all the powers of Europe; notwithſtanding which, the emperor of Germany was no ſooner dead, than four claimants appeared for the inheritance of the Auſtrian dominions. Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, laid claim to the kingdom of Bohemia, on the ſtrength of an article in the will of the emperor Ferdinand I. brother to Charles V. made about two centuries before. Auguſtus III. king of Poland, and elector of Saxony, exhibited pretenſions to the whole Auſtrian ſucceſſion, in virtue of the right of his wife, eldeſt daughter of the emperor Joſeph, elder brother of Charles VI. The king of Spain founded his claim to all the

[65] Hiſt. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 66. edit. 1786. Voltaire's Age of Lewis XV. vol. I. p. 48. edit. Lond. 1774.

poſſeſſions

poſſeſſions of the Auſtrian family, on his being deſcended from the conſort of Philip II. daughter of the emperor Maximilian II. and the king of Sardinia revived an obſolete claim to the duchy of Milan. CHAP. IV. A. D. 1740.

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe different claimants, Maria Thereſa proceeded to take poſſeſſion of the territories, which had devolved to her by the death of the emperor her father, and which it had been the deſign of the pragmatic ſanction to ſecure to her. She received the homage of the ſtates of Auſtria at Vienna on the 7th of November; and the provinces of Italy and Bohemia ſwore allegiance to her by their deputies. She poſſeſſed an affability of manners, which had ſeldom been ſeen in her anceſtors, and by which ſhe gained the hearts of her ſubjects, without diminiſhing her dignity. She alſo particularly ingratiated herſelf with the Hungarians, by taking the antient oath which king Andrew II. made in the year 1222. "If I, or "any of my ſucceſſors, ſhall, at any time, infringe "upon your privileges; by virtue of this promiſe, "you, and your deſcendants, ſhall be allowed to "defend yourſelves, and ſhall not be treated as "rebels [66]." As the anceſtors of this princeſs had always been backward in entering into ſuch engagements, the readineſs with which ſhe took this oath gained her great popularity. Having thus con-

[66] Voltaire's age of Lewis XV. vol. I. p. 52.

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ciliated the affections of her ſubjects, her next object was to procure for her huſband a ſhare in all her crowns, under the title of co-regent; and having ſucceeded in this, ſhe flattered herſelf, that the conſequence thus conferred upon the grand-duke, would ſoon raiſe him to the imperial throne.

THE affairs of Maria Thereſa, queen of Hungary, were in this ſituation, when a new and unexpected enemy ſtarted up, who was more artful in his manœuvres, and more alert in his operations, than any other of the claimants of the whole, or any part of the Auſtrian inheritance. This was the king of Pruſſia, whoſe great object, from the very commencement of his reign, appears to have been the aggrandizement of his dominions; and who conſidered the death of the emperor as a circumſtance favourable to his views. When that event happened, he had been for ſome time ill of a fever at Rheinſberg [u]; but the news of the emperor's

[u] In a letter dated Nov. 30, 1740, Bielfeld ſays, 'The 'king has ſtruggled, for a month paſt, with a violent and 'obſtinate fever; which makes his humour leſs gay, and the 'court leſs lively than uſual. Every time his majeſty has a 'freſh attack of the fever, a mournful ſilence reigns over all the 'palace, and a languid look dwells on every countenance. 'But, on his better days, he has a concert in his apartment, ap-'pears in public, dines and ſups with the queen and the princeſſes 'his ſiſters, and ſometimes gives a ball.' Letters, vol. IV. p. 14, 15.

death

death ſeems to have haſtened his recovery [v]. He immediately held conſultations with his miniſters of ſtate, and with marcſchal Schwerin, and his other generals; though it appears, that he communicated his real deſigns to none of them [67]. His troops were ordered to hold themſelves in inſtant readineſs for marching; magazines were formed at Franckfort on the Oder, and at Croſſen; and large trains of artillery were prepared [68]. It ſoon after appeared, that he meant to take advantage of the preſent embarraſſed ſtate of the queen of Hungary's affairs, to revive ſome claims of his family to the duchy of Sileſia, by virtue of old treaties of confraternity, but which ſeem to have been either

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[v] At the time when the news of the emperor's death arrived, the king was in bed, in conſequence of his fever, and in a ſtrong perſpiration. After ſome delay, they acquainted him with the news, and he read the diſpatches relative to it. 'His 'majeſty,' ſays Bielfeld, 'did not appear to be greatly moved: 'but what has followed, convinces me, that he poſſeſſes the art 'of compoſing his countenance, and that the emotion paſſed 'within. For he roſe ſoon after, ſent for M. von Eichel, 'privy counſellor and ſecretary of the cabinet, and commanded 'him to write to mareſchal Schwerin, and M. von Podewills, 'miniſter for foreign affairs, and order them to come immediately to Rheinſberg. Theſe gentlemen arrived forthwith; and 'they daily hold long and very ſecret conferences with his 'majeſty. They ſay, that ſovereigns have ſometimes authority 'even over their infirmities. The fever has ſhewn itſelf docile 'to the will of the monarch; for, after two ſlight attacks, it 'has entirely left him.' *Ibid.* p. 18, 19.

[67] Memoirs of Voltaire, p. 50.

[68] Bielfeld's Letters, vol. IV. p. 20.

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obſolete or annulled. He did not, however, at firſt fully avow his intentions. For in a curious manifeſto which he publiſhed, aſſigning reaſons for ordering his troops to enter into Sileſia, which was dated at Berlin the 1ſt of December, he obſerved, that the empire, and the houſe of Auſtria, in conſequence of the death of the emperor, and the diſputes about the ſucceſſion, were without a head, and expoſed to dangerous troubles, of which a part had manifeſted themſelves already, and others were ready to break out. As to himſelf, he ſaid, he had always been ſolicitous for what tended to the good and preſervation of the duchy of Sileſia; and the rather, becauſe it ſerved as a barrier to his dominions, and that province might be invaded, to the great prejudice of his frontiers, by thoſe who formed pretenſions to the hereditary dominions of the houſe of Auſtria, and whence the flame of war might be extended to his own territories, and expoſe them to evident danger. With a view, therefore, to prevent conſequences ſo dangerous, upon the appearance of a general war, with which Europe was then threatened, and to provide for the defence of the dominions which God had given him, and for very important reaſons on his part, which he ſhould not fail to make public in due time, he had thought proper to cauſe his troops to enter the duchy of Sileſia, in order TO COVER IT FROM BEING INVADED OR ATTACKED. And as, by ſo doing, he had not the leaſt intention to prejudice her majeſty

jesty the queen of Hungary, with whom he was resolved to keep a strict friendship, as well as with the whole Austrian house; and was, indeed, then busily employed in explaining himself upon the subject to the queen of Hungary; he assured the inhabitants of Silesia, that they might be satisfied they would have no hostility to apprehend on the part of his troops; and, on the contrary, that they would be fully maintained in their rights, liberties, and privileges. His majesty added, that as his troops entered Silesia only to support its inhabitants, preserve their properties, and provide for the tranquility of the duchy, he hoped that the inhabitants would adopt no measures, which should oblige him, contrary to his inclinations, to act in a less pacific and friendly manner than he intended; as, in that case, they could impute only to themselves, the ill consequences which might result from such conduct [69].

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It was in the middle of December, that Frederick marched into Silesia, at the head of 30,000 men [w]. It was proposed to adorn his standard with

[69] Memoirs of Frederick III. ut supra, p. 31, 32, 33, 34.

[w] He appears not to have been quite recovered from his disorder, when he set out for Silesia. Voltaire says, 'He departed on the 15th of December, with the quartan ague, for 'the conquest of Silesia, at the head of thirty thousand combatants, well disciplined, and well accoutred. As he mounted 'his horse, he said to the marquis de Beauveau, minister from 'the court of France, "I believe I am going to play your

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with the motto, PRO DEO ET PATRIA; but he eraſed the name of God, ſaying, that it was improper to introduce the name of the Deity in the quarrels of men, and that he was going to war for a province, and not for religion [70]. He then ordered the Roman eagle, diſplayed *in relievo*, and fixed on the top of a gilt pole, to be carried before his regiment of guards, by way of intimation to them, that they were to be invincible [71]. When he entered Sileſia, he is ſaid to have made the following ſpeech to his troops. "Gentlemen, I do "not look upon you as my ſubjects, but as my "friends. The troops of Brandenburgh have al-"ways ſignalized themſelves by their courage, and "given, on different occaſions, the fulleſt evi-"dences of their bravery. I ſhall be an eye-wit-"neſs to all your exploits. You will always fight "in my preſence; and I will recompenſe thoſe "who ſhall diſtinguiſh themſelves for their zeal "in my ſervice, rather as a father than as a ſove-"reign [72]."

"game for you: if the aces turn up, we will divide." *Memoirs*, p. 52. Voltaire obſerves in another place, that the French miniſter "did not know, when he firſt ſaw the Pruſſian troops in "motion, whether they were deſtined againſt France or Auſ-"tria." *Age of Lewis* XV. ch. 6.

[70] Voltaire's Age of Lewis XV. vol. I. p. 54. [71] Id. ibid.

[72] Memoirs of Frederick III. King of Pruſſia, 8vo. Lond. 1758. p. 35. Johnſon's Memoirs, ut ſupra, p. 107. Gent. Mag. vol. X. p. 625.

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NOTWITHSTANDING the friendly and pacific views with which the king of Pruſſia profeſſed to have entered into Sileſia, it appears, that he very ſoon levied heavy contributions on the inhabitants, under pretence of ſubſiſting his troops, and that great damage was done by them to the country. To this, however, the Sileſians were obliged to ſubmit, as they were not prepared with any force ſufficient to oppoſe the troops of the king of Pruſſia. In the mean time, Frederick ordered his miniſters at Vienna, count Gotter, and baron Borck, to enter into a negociation with Maria Thereſa. They repreſented to that princeſs, that the king of Pruſſia was ready to guaranty all the German dominions of the houſe of Auſtria; that with a view of ſecuring their poſſeſſions to that houſe, he would conclude a treaty with Auſtria, Ruſſia, and the maritime powers; that he would uſe his utmoſt endeavours that the queen of Hungary's huſband, the grand duke of Tuſcany, ſhould be raiſed to the imperial throne; and that, in order to enable her majeſty ſucceſsfully to oppoſe her enemies, he would immediately advance to her, in ready money, two millions of florins. For all this he required, "as well on account of his right thereto, "as for a compenſation for the dangers that he "ſhould expoſe himſelf to, for the ſafety and glory "of the houſe of Auſtria only," that Sileſia ſhould be given up to him [73]. But he afterwards directed

[73] Memoirs of Frederick III. ut ſupra, p. 36. Johnſon's Memoirs, p. 108. Gent. Mag. vol. XI. p. 53.

his

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his miniſters to hint at Vienna, that though he had demanded the entire ceſſion of the whole province, he might, perhaps, be ſatisfied with part of it, provided the queen of Hungary would make a reaſonable accommodation with him, for their mutual intereſts. It was added, that on all occaſions which might offer, wherein he could aſſiſt the queen of Hungary, and preſerve the glory of her houſe, or repair any loſs that ſhe might ſuffer in the preſent juncture, he ſhould ſhew the utmoſt readineſs to do it [74].

To theſe propoſals of the king of Pruſſia, it was anſwered on the part of the queen of Hungary, That though his Pruſſian majeſty alleged as his reaſon for entering Sileſia, the danger of the dominions of the houſe of Auſtria from other powers, it was manifeſt, that he was the firſt and only invader, and that till he entered in a hoſtile manner, all her poſſeſſions were unmoleſted. To his promiſes of aſſiſtance ſhe replied, that ſhe ſet a high value upon the king of Pruſſia's friendſhip, but that he was already obliged to aſſiſt her againſt invaders, both by the golden bull, and the pragmatic ſanction, of which he was a guarantee. If ſuch ties, ſaid ſhe, are not binding, with what ſecurity can the houſe of Auſtria rely on any other? As to an alliance with Ruſſia and the maritime powers, ſhe obſerved, that ſuch an alliance ſub-

[74] Memoirs of Frederick III. ut ſupra, p. 36. Gent. Mag. ubi ſupra.

ſiſted between the houſe of Auſtria and thoſe powers, before the king of Pruſſia had entered Sileſia; and that it could never be proper to alienate her dominions, for the conſolidation of an alliance, the chief object of which was to preſerve them entire. With regard to his intereſt in the election of an emperor, ſhe expreſſed her gratitude in ſtrong terms; but as that election, ſhe ſaid, ought to be free, and made in the manner preſcribed by the golden bull, ſhe was of opinion, that nothing could tend more to thwart it, than raiſing commotions in the heart of the empire. Of the pecuniary aſſiſtance propoſed ſhe remarked, that no prince ever made war to oblige another to take money; and that the contributions already drawn from Sileſia, under pretence of ſubſiſting his troops, added to the immenſe damage done that country by the havock made in it, exceeded the two millions offered. She was far, ſhe ſaid, from deſigning to begin her reign by diſmembering her dominions; and, therefore, could never conſent to give up the province of Sileſia, or any part of it. But ſhe was ready to renew the ſtricteſt friendſhip with the king of Pruſſia, provided he would withdraw his troops from her territories; and ſhe entreated him to adopt this meaſure, as the only method of promoting peace, by all the conſiderations that could make impreſſions upon the heart of a great prince [75].

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[75] Memoirs of Frederick III. ut ſupra, p. 37, 38.

FRE-

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FREDERICK finding that he could gain nothing by negociation, continued to profecute his claim by arms. He advanced with his army farther into Silefia, releafing the people from the rents and fervices they were accuftomed to pay to the clergy. He alfo plundered the convents of their ftores of provifions; and when the heads of thofe communities complained, he told them, that "he had "never read in the fcriptures of magazines being "erected by the apoftles; whofe example, he thought, "their profeffion obliged them to imitate [76]."

[76] Memoirs of Frederick III. ut fupra, p. 40, 41. Johnfon's Memoirs, p. 109. Gent. Mag. ubi fupra.

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CHAP. V.

Progreſs of the Pruſſian army in Sileſia.—The city of Glogau taken by ſurprize.—The battle of Molwitz.—The city of Brieg ſurrenders to the Pruſſian arms.—The Britiſh and Dutch miniſters preſent a memorial to Frederick, on his invaſion of Sileſia.—He makes himſelf maſter of the ſtrong fortreſs of Neiſs.—Enters Breſlaw, and receives the homage of the nobility, clergy, and burghers.—He returns to Berlin.—State of the Auſtrian affairs.—The court of France engages in the war againſt the queen of Hungary.—The elector of Bavaria raiſed to the imperial throne.

WHEN the king of Pruſſia firſt entered Sileſia, he met with little oppoſition from the inhabitants, who expected no ſuch attack, and were wholly unprepared to defend themſelves againſt ſo powerful an invader [x]. By degrees, however, the

[x] The ſmall number of Auſtrian troops in Sileſia, at the time when the king of Pruſſia invaded it, is the reaſon aſſigned by himſelf for commencing his operations in the winter. 'At 'the death,' ſays he, 'of the emperor Charles VI. in 1740, 'there were no more than two Auſtrian regiments in Sileſia. 'Being determined to aſſert my right to that duchy, I was 'obliged to make war during the winter, that I might take the 'advantage of circumſtances, and make the banks of the Neiſs 'the ſcene of action. If I had waited till the ſpring, we ſhould 'have

CHAP. V. A. D. 1741. the Auſtrian troops began to aſſemble, and to withſtand the progreſs of the Pruſſian arms. The king had ſent a detachment from the main army, which was now conſiderably reinforced, under the command of major-general De la Motte, to take poſſeſſion of Jablunka, a town on the frontiers of Hungary, which had a caſtle built on a rock. The garriſon made a vigorous defence; but were at length obliged to capitulate. This place was reckoned the key of Sileſia on the ſide of Hungary; but the Pruſſians were afterwards obliged to abandon it for want of proviſions; thoſe which were ſent to them being repeatedly intercepted by the Auſtrian huſſars.

GLOGAU, a large and well fortified city on the frontiers of Poland, was alſo beſieged by the Pruſſians. And on the 7th of March, 1741, at night, prince Leopold, of Anhalt Deſſau, who commanded the blockade, which had continued for ſome time, received orders from the king to make an unexpected attack upon the place, in order to take it by ſurprize, according to a plan concerted with his majeſty. Next day the proper diſpoſitions were made; and, about eight at night, the troops began to put themſelves under arms. At ten they reached their ſeveral poſts, a mile from the town.

* have begun the war between Groſſen and Glogau, and what * we gained by one ſingle march, would certainly have coſt us * three or four difficult campaigns.' *Military Inſtructions*, &c. p. 171.

With

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With the greateſt order and ſilence, they then marched to the foot of the glacis. The troops immediately advanced to the paliſadoes, and, leaping over them, threw themſelves into the covered way; ſome ſmall detachments running every way to diſarm all the enemy whom they could meet with. The town was now alarmed; but this did not prevent the Pruſſians from deſcending into the ditch, and advancing to the foot of the rampart, which was thirty-four feet high, with a ſlope of ten feet, which was made very ſlippery by a hard froſt of two days continuance. Theſe difficulties were, however, quickly ſurmounted; and prince Leopold, with the margrave Charles, and five or ſix others, firſt got to the top of the courtine. They were ſoon followed by a battalion of four companies of grenadiers, who gained poſſeſſion of two baſtions. They then attempted to break down the gate, behind which the Auſtrian generals, Wallis and Reyſki, had now poſted themſelves with their grenadiers, who fired on the Pruſſians, and did ſome execution. But prince Leopold cauſing the fire to be returned, general Reyſki received two wounds, the grenadiers fled, and general Wallis was obliged to follow them. The gate was then laid open, and the Pruſſians paſſed through the caſtle into the town. Two other attacks were executed with the ſame vigour and diſpatch. So great was the conſternation of the Auſtrians, that one incident is related which ſeems hardly credible.

Four

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Four Pruſſian grenadiers, who had climbed the ramparts, miſſing their own company, met an Auſtrian captain with fifty-two men. They were at firſt about to retreat; but, gathering courage, they called out to the Auſtrians to lay down their arms. In the terror of darkneſs and confuſion, the fears of the Auſtrians having multiplied their enemies, the Pruſſians were unexpectedly obeyed; and three of them ſtood ſentry over the Auſtrians, while the fourth brought a reinforcement [77].

THE Pruſſians made themſelves maſters of the place about an hour after mid-night. The Auſtrian generals, Wallis and Reyſki, with the garriſon, conſiſting of 1065 men, including officers, were all made priſoners of war. Fifty braſs cannon were found in the caſtle, a large quantity of gunpowder, and the military cheſt, with thirty-two thouſand florins. The king of Pruſſia thought highly of the manner in which this enterprize was conducted. In his "Military Inſtructions for the "generals of his army," which contain remarks on his own campaigns, he ſays, "The ſurprize of "GLOGAU was a maſter-piece of the military art, "worthy the imitation of all thoſe who would "attempt any thing of the like nature [78]." As a

[77] Memoirs of Frederick III. ut ſupra, p. 42, 43. Johnſon's Memoirs, p. 110. Gent. Mag. vol. XI. p. 166.

[78] Military Inſtructions, written by the King of Pruſſia, for the Generals of his army, being his Majeſty's own Commentaries on his former Campaigns, tranſlated by an Officer, Lond. 8vo. 1762. p. 108.

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teſtimony of his approbation of the conduct of prince Leopold on this occaſion, he immediately appointed him general of the foot, and alſo wrote to him a letter, of which the following is a tranſlation. CHAP. V. A. D. 1741.

'My dear Prince Leopold,

'I am vaſtly obliged to you for the brave and 'glorious action you have juſt performed; which, 'as I can never forget, will not fail to increaſe my 'ſincere friendſhip for you. Make my compli-'ments to margrave Charles. Tell all my brave 'officers how much I am pleaſed with them, and 'that, as I ſhall never forget their gallant beha-'viour in this inſtance, I ſhall convince them of 'my complete ſatisfaction, &c. [79].'

ABOUT this time a plot was pretended to be diſcovered, in Sileſia, for killing, or carrying off the king of Pruſſia; and one of the Pruſſian miniſters publiſhed a memorial at Mentz, in which it was ſtated, 'That notwithſtanding the moderation, 'which his Pruſſian majeſty had all along ſhewn 'towards the court of Vienna, yet that court had 'been far from behaving ſo to him, and had had 'recourſe to the deteſtable expedient of employing 'emiſſaries, ſpies, and banditti, to beſet him, and 'even attempt his life. That one of theſe ban-'ditti confeſſed, that he was obliged to take an

[79] Gent. Mag. ut ſupra.

CHAP. V. A. D. 1745.

'oath for that purpoſe in the Aulic council of war, 'and in the preſence of the grand duke of Tuſ- 'cany, whom his Pruſſian majeſty had thought 'incapable of ſuch unworthy conduct.' To this charge it was replied on the part of the court of Vienna, 'That the houſe of Auſtria never knew 'what it was to employ banditti. That the piety 'of the queen, and the ſentiments of the grand 'duke, were too well known for any body to be- 'lieve it of them. That the ſtory of an oath, 'taken by one of theſe banditti in the preſence of 'the grand duke, in the Aulic council of war, was 'ſo ill contrived, that it was impoſſible for it to 'gain the leaſt credit; and that the impoſture of 'ſuch an avowal was too evident, to eſcape the ob- 'ſervation and cenſure of every one, who knows 'the character of the Aulic council [80].' It is ſome- what the more probable, that there was no reality in the deſign alleged to have been formed againſt the king of Pruſſia's perſon, becauſe to charge his enemies falſely with evil deſigns, was perfectly con- ſonant to his maxims of policy. In his "Military "Inſtructions for the generals of his army," in directing them how to act in neutral countries, he ſays, "It may not be improper to accuſe the ene- "my of the moſt pernicious deſigns againſt the "inhabitants [81]."

[80] Memoirs of Frederick III. p. 44, 45. Gent. Mag. vol. XI. p. 222.

[81] Military Inſtructions, p. 76.

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THE court of Vienna was now ſo much exaſperated againſt the king of Pruſſia, that orders were ſent to general Neuperg, who commanded the Auſtrian forces, to hazard a battle with him at all events. Accordingly the two armies encountered each other, on the 10th of April, 1741, in the neighbourhood of Neiſs, at a village called MOLWITZ. The engagement commenced about two o'clock in the afternoon, and continued four hours. The Auſtrians at firſt drove back the left wing of the Pruſſians, commanded by lieutenant-general count Schuylemberg. But the king of Pruſſia, having been informed that the Auſtrians were ſuperior to him in cavalry, had intermixed grenadiers with his horſe, by which means the Pruſſians recovered from their confuſion. The attack on the right wing of the Pruſſians was likewiſe very vigorous; but the heat of the action was on the left wing. At length, however, the firſt line of Pruſſian infantry was ſo routed by the Auſtrians, and their cavalry obtained ſo much the advantage, that the battle ſeemed to be irrecoverably loſt, and Frederick himſelf retreated to a conſiderable diſtance from the field of action; being probably apprehenſive of being made priſoner by the Auſtrians, which might have defeated all his ſchemes. But the ſecond line of Pruſſian infantry, under the command of mareſchal SCHWERIN, ſtood ſo

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firm [y], that they turned the fortune of the day. At ſix in the evening the Auſtrians were obliged to retire under the cannon of Neiſs, leaving the field of battle to the Pruſſians. In this action, in which the advantage gained by the Pruſſians was chiefly owing to the valour and conduct of mareſchal Schwerin, the Auſtrians are ſaid to have had 3000 men killed and wounded, and the Pruſſians 600 killed, and 1500 wounded [z]. Among thoſe who

[y] Voltaire ſays, that 'the ſecond line of infantry ſtood 'immoveable, and recovered every thing, by obſerving that 'diſcipline to which the Pruſſian ſoldiers are accuſtomed; their 'continual firing, diſcharging at leaſt five times in a minute, 'and by loading their guns with iron ramrods in an inſtant.' *Age of Lewis XV. chap. v.*

[z] The king of Pruſſia wrote an account of the victory obtained by his troops at Molwitz to Voltaire, who received it at Liſle, when his tragedy of Mahomet was performing there. He read the letter, which was brought to him between the acts, to the audience, who received it with a general clap. "You will "ſee," ſaid Voltaire, "that this piece of Molwitz will inſure "ſucceſs to mine." *Hiſtorical Memoirs of the Author of the Henriade*, p. 33.

The king of Pruſſia himſelf acknowledges, that he might have been much more ſucceſsful againſt the Auſtrians at Molwitz, if he had then poſſeſſed more military ſkill and experience. 'We 'approached mareſchal Neuperg's army,' ſays he, 'without 'being diſcovered by any one man living. His troops were then 'cantoned in three villages; but at that time I had not ſufficient 'experience to know how to avail myſelf of ſuch an opportunity. 'I ought immediately to have ordered two of my columns to 'ſurround the village of Molwitz, and then to have attacked it. 'I ought at the ſame inſtant to have detached my dragoons, with 'orders

who were killed on the Pruſſian ſide, were the margrave Frederick and lieutenant general Schuylemberg. Mareſchal Schwerin was alſo wounded in the action. The celebrated Maupertuis, who in part of this campaign accompanied the king, was taken priſoner by the Auſtrians. CHAP. V. A. D. 1741.

ON the 23d of the ſame month the city of BRIEG, which is ſituated near the banks of the Oder, ſurrendered to the king of Pruſſia. It had been beſieged ſeven days; during which time the Pruſſians had fired into it 14,714 cannon balls, and thrown into it 2122 bombs; by which great part of the city was reduced to aſhes [82]. Frederick afterwards forced the important paſs of Fryewalde, which was defended by four thouſand huſſars; and alſo endeavoured, but without effect, to bring the Auſtrians to another action [83].

ABOUT this time the Britiſh and Dutch miniſters, who attended the Pruſſian camp, preſented a memorial to the king, in which it was ſtated, that his Britannick majeſty, and their high mightineſſes the ſtates-general, beheld with great regret the troubles that had ariſen between his Pruſſian majeſty

'orders to have attacked the other two villages which contained 'the Auſtrian cavalry. The infantry which ſhould have follow-'ed, would have prevented them from mounting. If I had pro-'ceeded in this manner, I am convinced I ſhould have totally 'deſtroyed the Auſtrian army.' *Military Inſtructions*, p. 113, 114.

[82] Memoirs of Frederick III. p. 47.

[83] Gent. Mag. vol. XI. p. 334.

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and the queen of Hungary, and could not but expreſs their ſurprize at his majeſty's enterprize againſt Sileſia; and the rather, on account of a letter which he had written to them, in which he had declared his intention to ſupport the houſe of Auſtria, to preſerve peace in the empire, and to watch over its repoſe as well as its ſafety. They likewiſe expreſſed their apprehenſions, that the ſteps which his majeſty was taking, might be attended with conſequences quite oppoſite to his declarations, not only with regard to the houſe of Auſtria, and the peace of the empire, but alſo to the liberties and repoſe of Europe. And they exhorted him to withdraw his troops from Sileſia, in order to pave the way to a laſting accommodation, and to reſtore peace to the empire. Frederick returned an anſwer, in which he obſerved, that he had never been averſe to a reaſonable accommodation with the queen of Hungary; but that the advantageous propoſals which he had made to that princeſs had been rejected with diſdain. He expreſſed his gratitude to the king of Great Britain, and the ſtates-general, for their deſire to accommodate, in an amicable manner, the differences ſubſiſting between him and the queen of Hungary; but he intimated, at the ſame time, his determination not to give up his claim to Sileſia; and he hoped that his Britannick majeſty, and their high mightineſſes, would not deviate from that impartiality, which was neceſſary in the accommoda-

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tion of ſuch differences, as ſubſiſted between him and the queen of Hungary [24]. CHAP. V. A. D. 1741.

In the month of July, the king of Pruſſia was encamped near the little town of Strehle; where he was accompanied by ſeveral foreign miniſters; and, among others, by the ambaſſadors from France and Spain, the duke of Belleiſle, and the marquis of Montigo, who made a very ſplendid appearance [A]. Their avowed buſineſs in Germany was, to attend at Franckfort the election and coronation of a new emperor of Germany. In his camp at Strehle, the king of Pruſſia appeared not only eaſy and chearful, but in high ſpirits, and full of vivacity. In a letter written at this time by baron

[24] Memoirs of Frederick III. p. 47—50.

[A] Bielfeld ſays, 'Each of theſe miniſters makes a moſt 'brilliant figure, and never have I ſeen any one travel with more 'eaſe and convenience, more elegance and grandeur, than does 'the marquis of Montigo. Wherever he ſtops to dine, or ſup, 'he finds a room hung with the richeſt tapeſtry, and the floor 'covered with Turkey carpets, with velvet chairs, and every 'other kind of convenience; a table ſumptuouſly ſerved, the 'choiceſt wines, and a deſert of fruit and confectionary, that 'Paris itſelf could not excel. This kind of enchantment, this 'real miracle in Germany, is performed by means of three bag-'gage waggons, of which two always go before the ambaſſador, 'and carry with them every thing neceſſary for his reception; 'and when they arrive in ſome poor village, the domeſtics that 'accompany each waggon immediately clear and clean ſome 'chamber, fix the tapeſtry by rings to the walls, cover the floor 'with carpets, and furniſh the kitchen and cellar with every kind 'of neceſſary.' Letters, vol. I. p. 3, 4.

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Bielfeld, who attended Frederick at Strehle, is the following paſſage: 'Notwithſtanding all the fatigues 'of war, the king is in perfect health, and more 'gay and pleaſant than ever; and all who approach 'his majeſty, meet with a moſt gracious reception. 'In the midſt of his camp, and at the head of ſixty 'thouſand Pruſſians, our monarch appears to me 'with a new and ſuperior air of greatneſs [A].

IN September, Frederick was encamped on the top of a hill, in ſight of Neiſs; the Auſtrian army, under general Neuperg, being chiefly encamped in the plain at no great diſtance. The Pruſſians were now, for a ſhort time, in great want of proviſions, while the Auſtrian troops were well ſupplied [B]. But this diſtreſs in the Pruſſian camp did not long continue; for general Neuperg quitted his camp, and marched towards the mountains that cover Bohemia. The Pruſſian troops immediately marched down the hill, and took poſſeſſion of the camp which had been left by the

[A] Letters, vol. I. p. 7.

[B] 'They ſuffered,' ſays Bielfeld, 'in this camp, every kind 'of want; and it was no ſmall mortification to ſee from the hill 'the camp of M. Neuperg, which lay partly on the plain, and 'partly in a village, abounding with every kind of neceſſary. 'I mounted to the top of a hill, and by the help of a good 'teleſcope, could ſee, in the quarters of the Auſtrian huſſars, 'the ſutlers ſelling all ſorts of proviſions, and every article of 'luxury, fiſh, choice fruit, water melons, and even ananas, 'while we were juſt dying with hunger. But this extremity 'laſted not long; for, about noon, we ſaw the whole army of 'M. Neuperg in motion.' Letters, ut ſupra, p. 44.

Auſtrians. The Pruſſian light troops were employed in harraſſing the Auſtrians in their retreat; and, by quitting his camp; general Neuperg had given the king of Pruſſia an opportunity of inveſting the town of Neiſs, which was the ſtrongeſt fortification in Sileſia. The place was ſo vigorouſly beſieged, the town being laid waſte with bombs and cannon balls, that it did not hold out many days after the trenches were opened; but the garriſon were allowed to march out with the honours of war [c]. CHAP. V. A. D. 1741.

THE king of Pruſſia, having completed the conqueſt of Lower Sileſia, entered BRESLAW, the ca-

[c] During the continuance of this ſiege, Bielfeld, who was preſent at it, ſays, 'The king ordered two tables to be ſet up in 'a barn, on each of which were forty covers. Here he dined 'with the princes, and his officers; and here we ate likewiſe, 'or were ſometimes invited by the generals. They had a good 'table in camp, and there was no want of wine. In the after-'noon we attended the king at his quarters, and towards the 'evening we waited on his royal highneſs the margrave Henry, 'who was well lodged. Here we were invited to play, and 'almoſt always kept to ſupper. Mareſchal Schwerin was lodged 'in a village a ſhort mile from the head-quarters.'

In the ſame letter he ſays, 'There has happened nothing very 'remarkable in the courſe of this ſiege. The only unfortunate 'accident we have had, was from a powder barrel, which being 'placed too near the batteries, took fire, and blew up eleven 'ſoldiers belonging to the artillery. The greateſt part of theſe 'unfortunate men were deſtroyed; and, as I paſſed that way 'preſently after, I ſaw their wretched remains, black as ſoot.' Letters, ut ſupra, p. 48, 49.

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CHAP. V. A. D. 1741.

pital of the duchy [D], and a day was appointed for receiving the homage of the Silesian nobility, clergy, and burghers. The great hall of the state-house of this city was made use of on this occa-

[D] According to baron Bielfeld, the king arrived at Breslaw on the 8th of October, 1741, in the afternoon. 'He found 'an innumerable number of people before the palace; and all 'the antichamber filled with Silesian nobles, prelates, officers, 'and other persons of rank. The principal of these were pre-'sented to his majesty, who received them most graciously, and 'conversed with them for a long time. The king then with-'drew to his chamber, where he had a concert, and played him-'self on the flute. His majesty afterwards supped alone, and 'retired early to rest, sufficiently fatigued with the business of 'this remarkable day.

'The following day, as the king talked with messieurs Pode-'wils, Mutschow, and Reinhardt, he ordered baron Pollnitz to 'be called, and said to him, "Baron, I dreamt last night that 'I created nobles. Tell me, you that know Silesia, who 'are the most worthy to bear that title?" Baron Pollnitz 'mentioned such as by their birth, their merit, and their for-'tune, were the most respectable; and as his majesty's choice 'fell on counts Schmettau, messieurs Beuthen and Carolath, and 'count Hamfeld, the baron was ordered to acquaint them 'with his majesty's intention. There were made, besides these, 'four counts, four barons, and four other nobles; and six of 'the principal Silesian nobility were invested with the order 'of the Black Eagle. As a reward for the important services 'which M. Podewils, minister for foreign affairs, has rendered 'his majesty in the course of this war, he was also raised to the 'dignity of a count, and invested with the king's order. There 'were likewise distributed several lord chamberlain's keys, several 'letters patent for seats in the council of state, and many other 'titles and pensions.' Letters, ut supra, p. 61, 62, 63.

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sion [E]. On the morning of the day which was set apart for this purpose, all the garrison of Breslaw were under arms as soon as it was light, and marched to different quarters of the town. In the forenoon, the streets were crowded with people of all ranks; and the Silesian clergy and nobility repaired to the state-house in solemn procession, and in great pomp. Cardinal Zinzendorff, bishop of Breslaw, was at the head of the prelates, the generals of the religious orders, and deputies of the Silesian churches. After the equipages of the clergy came the deputies of the provinces, and the whole body of nobility. Then followed the burgomasters and senators of Breslaw, and the deputies of other towns. The principal nobility came in coaches and six: their equipages were splendid, their liveries gay, and their cloaths richly laced. When they had entered the hall of the state-house, they were arranged on one side of it, according to their rank. Mareschal Schwerin, count Podewils, the king of Prussia's chief minister, count Munchow,

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[E] In this hall was a throne, which had been erected for the emperor Matthias, and which was made use of on the present occasion. 'But unluckily,' says Bielfeld, 'on the velvet that 'covered this throne, was embroidered the imperial two-headed 'eagle. This inconvenience, however, was presently removed; 'for, by cutting off one of his heads, and fixing the king's 'cypher on his breast, he became as complete a Prussian eagle, 'as if he had never belonged to any other country.' *Ibid.* p. 61.

baron

CHAP. V. A. D. 1741.

baron Pollnitz [F], many general officers, and perſons of diſtinction belonging to the king's train, afterwards entered the ſame hall, but by another door,

[F] CHARLES LEWIS, Baron de POLLNITZ, was born on the 25th of February, 1692, at Iſſouin, a village in the electorate of Cologn. He loſt his father before he was two years of age, and was brought up under the care of his mother, who chiefly reſided at Berlin. He afterwards ſtudied ſome time at Lunenburgh, under the care of a governor; but he was very early introduced at court, and was preſent at the coronation of the firſt king of Pruſſia. In 1708, by the king's permiſſion, he ſerved as a volunteer among the Pruſſian troops, againſt the French, in the allied army commanded by the duke of Marlborough, and was preſent at the battle of Oudenarde. The ſame year, he was made one of the gentlemen of the king's bed-chamber. In this ſituation he continued a conſiderable time, and then quitted Berlin, in conſequence of ſome harſh words which were ſpoken to him by the king. He then went to Brunſwick, Zell, and Hanover, where he was introduced to the princeſs Sophia, mother to king George the Firſt, by whom he was extremely well received, and of whom he expreſſes himſelf in the following terms: "This princeſs, though ſhe was full fourſcore "when I was at Hanover, laboured under none of thoſe infir-"mities which one would think to be inſeparable from ſo great "an age. She was really a prodigy for vivacity and memory. "She ſpoke French, Engliſh, and Italian, as well as her mother "tongue; and had, moreover, a wonderful juſt way of think-"ing, which ſhe had taken the pains to cultivate by great read-"ing." At Hanover, however, Pollnitz engaged too much in gaming, by which he involved himſelf in difficulties; but he afterwards went to France, where he was introduced to the court at Verſailles, and was much diſtinguiſhed by Lewis XIV. who ſaid, "That of all the foreigners who had been introduced "to him, nobody had ſaluted him with a better grace, and a "more

door, and placed themſelves on each ſide of the throne, oppoſite to the Sileſian nobility and deputies. CHAP. V. A. D. 1741.

ABOUT

" more eaſy air, than the margrave of Anſpach, and the baron " de Pollnitz."

At Paris Pollnitz lived in a very gay and expenſive manner, gained much, and engaged in intrigues, and at length the conſequences of his extravagances obliged him to quit France, and he returned to Berlin. But Frederick William having now aſcended the throne of Pruſſia, there was ſo little ſplendor in that court, that Pollnitz was ſoon diſguſted with it; and having no proſpect of preferment, he again returned to Paris. He ſtaid there for ſome time, then went back again to Germany, and in vain ſolicited ſome court preferment at Berlin, after which he travelled into Poland. In 1714, he was again in France, and was preſent when Lewis XIV. gave audience to the Perſian ambaſſador. He involved himſelf in farther difficulties by his extravagancies at Paris, but at length obtained a penſion from the French court of 2000 livres, though of this he was deprived after the acceſſion of Lewis XV. About this time he embraced the Roman Catholic religion, after which he travelled into ſeveral other countries, and met with a variety of adventures, being often extremely diſtreſſed for want of money. His eſtate was much involved, and he once formed a deſign of endeavouring to retrieve his circumſtances, by entering into holy orders; though the general tenor of his life ſeems to have been very unſuitable to that profeſſion. As he viſited moſt of the courts and cities of Europe, he wrote an account of his travels in the French language, in the form of letters, which are very entertaining, and have been extremely well received. They were tranſlated into Engliſh, and the third edition was publiſhed in five volumes, 12mo. in 1745, under the title of " Memoirs of " Charles Lewis, Baron de Pollnitz." He met with but little countenance at the court of Pruſſia, during the reign of Frederick

CHAP. V. A. D. 1741.

ABOUT noon, the king himself proceeded to the state-house, in a phaeton, such as he frequently used in the field, and which was drawn by eight horses. He was in his uniform, which was somewhat the worse for wear, and his hair, as usual, was negligently dressed. In this martial attire Frederick seated himself on the throne. The prince of Prussia, and the other princes of the blood, placed them-

derick William; but after the accession of Frederick III. he was received into favour, made one of the king's chamberlains, and frequently admitted to his convivial parties.

From what Voltaire says of Pollnitz, it seems as if he had changed his religion more than once; and he represents the king as apt to be very satirical with him upon that circumstance, and on account of his morals. 'It is well known,' says Voltaire, 'how much must be borne from kings; but Frederick 'was too free in the abuse of his prerogative. All society has its 'laws, except the society of the Lion and the Lamb. Frede-'rick continually failed in the first of these laws; which is, to 'say nothing disobliging of any of the company. He often 'used to ask his chamberlain Pollnitz, if he would not willingly 'change his religion a fourth time, and offer to pay a hundred 'crowns down for his conversion. "Good God, my dear "Pollnitz," he would say, "I have forgotten the name of that "person at the Hague, whom you cheated by selling him base "for pure silver; let me beg of you to assist my memory a "little." He treated poor D'Argens in much the same way; 'and yet these two victims remained. Pollnitz, having wasted 'his fortune, was obliged to swallow serpents for bread, and 'had no other food; and D'Argens had no property in the 'world, but his Jewish Letters, and his wife, called Cochois, 'a bad provincial actress, and so ugly she could get no employ-'ment at any trade, though she practised several.' *Memoirs of the Life of Voltaire, written by himself*, p. 143, 144.

selves

ſelves around him. Mareſchal Schwerin ſtood on his right hand, and was to have borne the ſword of ſtate, but that was forgotten. This omiſſion the king ſupplied, by drawing his own ſword, and putting it into the mareſchal's hand. CHAP. V. A. D. 1742.

COUNT Podewills, who ſtood on the left hand of the king, then made a ſpeech, in which he acquainted the aſſembly with the motives, which had induced his majeſty to convoke that meeting; and he exhorted the Sileſians, that they would with their hearts, as well as with their lips, ſwear allegiance to their new lord, and ſovereign duke. He aſſured them, in the king's name, that his majeſty would ever regard them with the affection of a father; that he would continually afford them all poſſible aid and protection; and that he ſhould look on every day of his life as loſt, in which he did not give them ſome freſh mark of his royal munificence. M. Vockerodt then read the oath of allegiance, which the deputies, and all the nobility, repeated with a loud voice. While this was reading, the king ſat, and was covered; but when the declaration was making in his name, he ſtood, and was uncovered. When the oath was over, every one in his rank advanced to the throne, laid his hand upon the Bible, and kiſſed the hilt of the king's ſword, in token of inviolable fidelity. Count Podewills then concluded the ceremony with a ſhort complimentary ſpeech, which he made in the king's name, to the whole body of Sileſians; acquainting them

CHAP. V. A. D. 1741.

them with the great satisfaction which the conclusion of this important business gave to his majesty; and again assuring them of his protection, and of the full enjoyment of all their antient rights and privileges. This speech was received with loud acclamations; "long live the king of Prussia, "long live our sovereign lord," resounded from every part of the assembly; which Frederick answered with a bow; and, descending from the throne, was attended by the whole assembly to his carriage [86].

AFTER the conclusion of this ceremony a sumptuous dinner was given by the king, to which all persons of rank were invited. When the desert appeared, silver dishes were also brought, filled with gold and silver medals, struck for the occasion; and to every person was presented one gold and two silver medals. In the evening the king gave a grand masquerade ball, and a magnificent supper. The whole city of Breslaw was illuminated; and even the Jesuits, Carmelites, and Capuchins, were at considerable expence in the illumination of their monasteries [87]. The king set out for Berlin a few days after, where he was received with great joy by the inhabitants. He left count Munchow, one of his generals, to preside over the government and revenues of Silesia [G].

DURING

[86] Letters, vol. I. p. 70—75. [87] Ibid. vol. I. p. 76, 77.

[G] Voltaire, speaking of the king of Prussia's conquest of Silesia, says, 'He has written the history of that conquest, and 'he

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DURING the time that the king of Pruſſia was employed in making himſelf maſter of Sileſia, the affairs of the queen of Hungary were in many reſpects in a ſituation extremely critical. She had been crowned at Preſburg on the 24th of June, 1741; but the elector of Bavaria refuſed to acknowledge her as queen of Hungary and Bohemia; alleging his own pretenſions to both thoſe countries, by virtue of a clauſe in the will of the

'he ſhewed me the whole of it. Here follows one of the curious paragraphs, in the introduction to theſe annals, which I, in preference, carefully tranſcribed, as a thing *unique* in its kind. "Add to the foregoing conſiderations, I had troops "entirely prepared to act; this, the fulneſs of my treaſury, "and the vivacity of my character, were the reaſons why I "made war upon Maria Thereſa, queen of Bohemia and Hun-"gary." And a few lines after, he has theſe very words: "Ambition, intereſt, and a deſire to make the world ſpeak of "me, vanquiſhed all, and war was determined on."

'From the time that conquerors, or fiery ſpirits that would 'be conquerors, firſt were, to the preſent hour, I believe he is 'the only one who has ever done himſelf thus much juſtice. 'Never man, perhaps, felt reaſon more forcibly, or liſtened 'more attentively to his paſſions; but this mixture of a philo-'ſophic mind, and a diſorderly imagination, have ever com-'poſed his character.

'It is much to be regretted, that I prevailed on him to omit 'theſe paſſages, when I afterwards corrected his works; a con-'feſſion ſo uncommon, ſhould have paſſed down to poſterity, 'and have ſerved to ſhew upon what motives the generality of 'wars are founded. We authors, poets, hiſtorians, and acade-'mician declaimers, celebrate theſe fine exploits; but here is a 'monarch who performs and condemns them.' Memoirs, ut ſupra, p. 54—55.

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emperor Ferdinand I. Cardinal Fleury, who was at this time prime miniſter of France, was deſirous of maintaining the pragmatic ſanction, and of preſerving the peace of Europe; but, by the influence of the count de Belleiſle, and his brother, in the French councils, it was determined to ſupport the claims of the elector of Bavaria, in order to leſſen the power of the houſe of Auſtria; and in this ſcheme the cardinal, who was in his eighty-fifth year, was at length prevailed upon to concur. It was propoſed to ſend a numerous body of French troops into Germany, who, in conjunction with the Bavarian troops, ſhould ſeize upon Auſtria, Bohemia, and the fineſt provinces of the queen of Hungary; and beſides ſupporting the claims of the elector of Bavaria to the Auſtrian ſucceſſion, he was alſo, by the intrigues of France, to be raiſed to the imperial throne. The count de Belleiſle was accordingly advanced to the rank of mareſchal, and ſent into Germany in the double capacity of ambaſſador and general. He concluded a treaty with the elector of Bavaria at Nymphenburg, by which the French king engaged to aſſiſt that prince with his whole force, in order to raiſe him to the imperial throne; and the elector, on his part, promiſed, that, after his elevation, he would never attempt to recover any of the towns or provinces of the empire, which the French ſhould have conquered; that he would, in his imperial capacity, renounce the barrier treaty, and agree, that France might

might retain irrevocably whatever places ſhould be reduced by her arms in the Auſtrian Netherlands. The count de Belleiſle alſo concluded a treaty between Lewis XV. and the king of Pruſſia, in which it was ſtipulated, that the elector of Bavaria, together with the imperial crown, ſhould poſſeſs Bohemia, Upper Auſtria, and the country of Tirol; that Auguſtus III. king of Poland, and elector of Saxony, ſhould be gratified with Moravia and Upper Sileſia; and that his Pruſſian majeſty ſhould retain Lower Sileſia, with the town of Neiſs, and county of Glatz [88].

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WHEN theſe treaties were concluded, the elector of Bavaria, being joined by the French forces, entered Auſtria without oppoſition, and immediately made himſelf maſter of the imperial city of Paſſau, which ſeparated Upper Auſtria from Bavaria. He then marched into Lintz, the capital of Upper Auſtria, and there received the homage of the ſtates of that country. From thence ſeveral detachments of his troops advanced within three leagues of Vienna, the inhabitants of which expected to be beſieged, and began to make preparations for their defence. One of the ſuburbs was almoſt totally pulled down, together with a palace that was near the fortifications; and the Danube was covered with a multitude of boats, which conveyed the moſt valuable effects of the inhabitants to places of greater ſafety. The elector of Bavaria

[88] Hiſt. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 72.

CHAP. V. A.D. 1741.

proceeded so far, as to send a summons of surrender to count Kevenhuller, who was then governor of Vienna [89].

In this distressful situation of her affairs, the queen of Hungary had expected some powerful assistance from the king of Great Britain, who had professed his desire to support the house of Austria, and who had raised a considerable body of troops for that purpose. The parliament of England had also voted three hundred thousand pounds, for the service of the queen of Hungary. But a French army having been sent into Westphalia, under the command of mareschal Maillebois, his Britannick majesty was so apprehensive for the safety of his electoral dominions, that he signed a treaty of neutrality, and even engaged to vote for the elector of Bavaria, at the ensuing election of an emperor.

The queen of Hungary now seemed abandoned by her allies, and devoted to destruction; but her courage did not forsake her. She left the care of her affairs at Vienna to her husband and her generals, and retired to Presburg; where, having assembled the states of Hungary, she appeared before them with her eldest son, yet an infant, in her arms, and addressed them in a pathetic speech, in the Latin language, to the following purport: "Abandoned by my friends, persecuted by my "enemies, and attacked by my nearest relations,

[89] Voltaire's Age of Lewis XV. ch. 6.

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"I have no other resource but in your fidelity "and valour, and in my own perseverance. I "deliver into your hands the daughter and son of "your kings, whose safety depends on your con-"duct." Affected and animated by this address to them, the Hungarians drew their sabres, and cried out with one voice, *Moriamur pro nostro rege Maria Theresa*; Let us die in the defence of our king Maria Theresa. "They always," says Voltaire, "give the title of king to their queen: in "fact, no princess ever better deserved that title[90]." The Hungarian states published a manifesto against the elector of Bavaria; and, by a solemn act, they perpetually excluded him and his posterity from the throne of Hungary. CHAP. V. A. D. 1741.

In the mean time, the king of Prussia detached ten thousand men, from his army in Silesia, to join the French and Bavarian forces. But the Hungarian nobility were now in arms; and the money which had been voted by the parliament of England, and which was now remitted to the queen of Hungary, was extremely beneficial to her affairs; by enabling her to pay her army, erect magazines, and complete her warlike preparations. Count Palfy, an old Hungarian nobleman, whom the queen honoured with the name of father, marched to the relief of Vienna with thirty thousand men. The garrison of that city being thereby strongly reinforced, the elector of Bavaria quitted his de-

[90] Age of Lewis XV. ut supra.

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ſign of beſieging it, and marched into Bohemia. Being there joined by twenty thouſand Saxons, he laid ſiege to Prague. The place was ſtormed, and taken by aſſault, on the 26th of October, by the gallantry of the famous Maurice count Saxe [H]; who exhibited, on this occaſion, great moderation and humanity. He not only ſaved the city from being plundered, but protected the perſons of the inhabitants from violence or inſult. The elector of Bavaria now made his public entry into Prague, and was crowned king of Bohemia in the month of December. The Pruſſians, under mareſchal Schwerin, alſo entered Moravia, and made themſelves maſters of Olmutz; but the queen of Hungary's generals, Berenclau and Mentzel, defeated count Thoring, who commanded eight thouſand men, at the paſs of Scardingen, and opening their way into Bavaria, laid the whole country under contribution; while count Kevenhuller retook the

[H] Voltaire ſays of count SAXE, who was natural ſon of Auguſtus II. king of Poland, that 'This general inherited his 'father's peculiar ſtrength of body, together with the mildneſs 'of his temper, and equal courage; but he poſſeſſed much ſu-'perior talents for war. His reputation was ſo great, that the 'inhabitants had, with one voice, elected him duke of Cour-'land; but the Ruſſians, who gave laws to the North, had de-'prived him of that dignity, which the ſuffrage of a whole peo-'ple had granted to his merit. He comforted himſelf, how-'ever, for his loſs, in the ſervice of France, and in the agree-'able ſociety of that nation, which, as yet, was a ſtranger to 'his many great qualifications.' *Age of Lewis* XV. ch. 6.

city

city of Lintz, and drove the French troops out of Auſtria. On the 4th day of January following, the elector of Bavaria was choſen emperor of Germany, and was afterwards crowned at Franckfort on the Maine, by the name of Charles the Seventh. But the elevation of this prince to the imperial dignity was no acceſſion to his felicity: on the contrary, it was productive of events, by which his days were ſhortened and embittered.

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CHAP. VI.

Splendour of the court of Berlin, after the return of the king from Sileſia.—Marriage of the Prince of Pruſſia.—The king ſets out from Berlin in the midſt of winter, in order to join his army, and oppoſe the progreſs of the Auſtrians.—He has an interview with the king of Poland.—He arrives at Prague, and proceeds from thence to Glatz in Bohemia, and afterwards to Olmutz, the capital of Moravia.—The town of Iglau taken by prince Thierri of Anhalt Deſſau.—Frederick makes himſelf maſter of Znaym.—Abandons Olmutz, and retreats out of Moravia.—He defeats the Auſtrian army, under the command of prince Charles of Lorrain, at Czaſlaw, in Bohemia.—Concludes a peace with the queen of Hungary.—He returns to Berlin.—Difficulties to which the French are reduced, after Frederick had concluded a ſeparate peace with the court of Vienna.—The diſtreſsful ſituation of the emperor.

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AFTER the return of the king of Pruſſia from the conqueſt of Sileſia, his court at Berlin, at the commencement of the year 1742, was extremely ſplendid. "Since Chriſtmas," ſays Bielfeld, "Berlin has been crowded with ſtrangers "of the firſt rank; among whom are reckoned "fourteen ſovereign princes. Every thing that "could poſſibly contribute to their entertainment, "during

" during their reſidence in this city, has been done " by his majeſty's command. Every day was diſ- " tinguiſhed, either by ſome royal feaſt, or ſome " new kind of diverſion [91]." CHAP. VI. A. D. 1742.

On the 6th of January, the king's eldeſt brother, William Auguſtus, prince of Pruſſia, was married to the princeſs Louiſa Amelia, daughter of the duke of Brunſwick Wolfenbuttel; and their nuptials were celebrated with great magnificence. The king himſelf attended this ceremony, in a dreſs unuſually gay, and which is thus deſcribed by Bielfeld. " His majeſty's coat was of a ſilver ſtuff, " with a ſhoulder knot, but the waiſtcoat and fac- " ings were of a gold and ſilver brocade; all theſe " were heightened by the yellow ribband, and the " ſtar; and gave this monarch, in my eyes, ſo " young, ſo gay and graceful an air, that I could " not have refrained from loving him, although he " had been a ſtranger [92]." It had been the cuſtom of the houſe of Brandenburgh, as well as of other German courts, for ſome courtier to preſent any new-married princeſs, on the day after her nuptials, with a crown of flowers; and to addreſs, at the ſame time, a ſhort oration to the bride, relative to the ſtate into which ſhe had juſt entered. On this occaſion this ceremony was performed, and the coronary oration pronounced, by

[91] Letters, vol. I. p. 94. [92] Ibid. p. 98.

the

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the king's command, in the preſence of the whole court, by baron Bielfeld [1].

BUT the king of Pruſſia was not long occupied in theſe ceremonies, and in theſe pacific amuſements. He ſoon engaged in employments of a very different nature, and more ſuited to his active, enterprizing, and warlike character. The French and Bavarians, at the cloſe of the preceding year, had the mortification to ſee all the places of ſtrength, which they had conquered in Auſtria, retaken by count Kevenhuller. That Auſtrian general alſo ravaged Bavaria, and made himſelf maſter of Munich, the capital of that electorate. The king of Pruſſia, therefore, thought it neceſſary that he ſhould immediately exert himſelf, in order to oppoſe the progreſs of the Auſtrians. Accordingly, he ſet out from Berlin on the 18th of January, and lodged that night at Elſterwerda, a houſe belonging to the king of Poland, about ſix leagues from Dreſden [93]. He ſet out the next morning for that city, where he arrived about noon.

THE king of Poland received him with great expreſſions of joy and friendſhip, and the remainder of that day was employed in the pleaſures of the carnival. But the king of Pruſſia was not inclined to ſpend much time in theſe amuſements. The

[1] Bielfeld's oration on this occaſion is printed in his Letters, vol. I. p. 110—116.

[93] King of Pruſſia's Campaigns, written by an officer, tranſlated from the French, p. 3. Lond. 12mo. 1763.

very

very next morning he entered into ſerious conferences with his Poliſh majeſty, concerning military operations. The reſult was, that a reſolution was formed of marching to drive prince Lobkowitz from a poſt which he then held in the neighbourhood of Iglau, and of making a diverſion into Moravia and the Lower Auſtria. That no time might be loſt, Frederick proceeded on his march the ſame day, and on the 21ſt arrived at Prague, where he had an interview with the count of Bavaria, and the French generals. From Prague he proceeded to Old Boleſla, from thence to Konigſgratz, and on the 24th of the month he arrived at GLATZ, a town in Bohemia, which had before ſubmitted to the Pruſſian arms; but it had a ſtrong fortreſs, to which the garriſon retired, and who made a vigorous defence. After the king's arrival, he was informed, that the counteſs of Grunn, who was married to a lieutenant-colonel of the garriſon, had made a vow, before the town ſurrendered, that in caſe the blockade of it ſhould be ſoon raiſed, ſhe would preſent a fine ſuit of cloaths to the Madonna of the Jeſuits. Frederick, therefore, in order to ſhew that his reſpect for the Virgin was not inferior to that of the counteſs, bought as many yards of the fineſt ſtuff he could procure, as was neceſſary to make a large robe for the Virgin, and ſent a meſſage to the convent of Jeſuits, acquainting them, that being informed of the fruitleſs vow which had been made by the counteſs, and

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and knowing his men better than ſhe, he did not intend that our Lady ſhould be a loſer; and, therefore, offered her in reality what madam de Grunn had promiſed her in vain. The Jeſuits were charmed with this mark of piety in the king; and came, in great formality, to return his majeſty thanks, for this teſtimony of his favour to them, and of his devotion to the Virgin [94].

AT Glatz the king was joined by his brother prince Henry, and ſuch of his retinue as had not attended him when he left Berlin. He ſet out, on the twenty-ſixth of the month, for Landſcron, through the ice and ſnow which then covered the formidable chain of mountains between Moravia and Bavaria. At Landſcron he found the count de Saxe, who, at that time, commanded the Saxon troops, and the count de Polaſtron, a lieutenant-general of the French army, who had come thither to receive the king's orders, both of them being to ſerve in the projected attack of prince Lobkowitz at Iglau.

HAVING reſted his troops one day at Landſcron, the king proceeded on the day following to OLMUTZ, the capital of Moravia. Here he was lodged in the caſtle of the count de Lichtenſtein, who was biſhop of Olmutz. He continued there about three days, waiting for the arrival of ſome troops who were to join him. But ſome ceremonies,

[94] King of Pruſſia's Campaigns, ut ſupra, p. 5.

which were thought neceſſary to be obſerved in the biſhop's caſtle, being not agreeable to Frederick, he removed from thence, and took up his lodgings in the city. On the fifth of February, having been joined by ſome freſh troops, he quitted Olmutz, and proceeded to the little town of Wiſchaw. The following day he ſet out, at the head of four hundred huſſars, two battalions of grenadiers, and the Glaſenapp battalion of infantry. In the courſe of this day's march he was joined by the ſecond battalion of the regiment of Schwerin; and in the evening arrived at the village of Jedowitz. This place is ſo ſurrounded with rugged mountains, that it is difficult either to get in or out of it. It being but an inconſiderable village, and the weather extremely ſevere, the king lodged his huſſars at a neighbouring caſtle, and cauſed his grenadiers to march a league farther. The battalion of Glaſenapp was alſo obliged to take other quarters; ſo that the king remained alone with the regiment of Schwerin, expoſed to the incurſions of the garriſon of Brunn, which was only two leagues diſtant. The reſt of the Pruſſian regiments, both of horſe and foot, were cantoned as near as poſſible, in order to be ready to join, if circumſtances ſhould render it neceſſary.

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THE next morning Frederick again marched with his forces, and proceeded from Jedowitz to Gourein. This day's march continued ten hours, and was extremely fatiguing: the road for more than

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than two leagues being one continued defile, between two dreadful precipices, through which a broad waggon could ſcarcely paſs. Three men only could march in front; and the ice made the roads ſo ſlippery, that the feet of the ſoldiers, at every ſtep, ſeemed to go backwards rather than forwards. The cannon were with great difficulty drawn through this paſs; and many accidents retarded the progreſs of the troops. But Frederick himſelf marched the greateſt part of the way on foot: and the ſoldiers were greatly animated by obſerving the perſonal fatigue which the king underwent, and the ſpirit and chearfulneſs which he diſplayed [95]. Parties of Auſtrian huſſars often reconnoitred and approached the Pruſſians; but no attempt was made to attack them.

ON the fourteenth of the ſame month, the king detached eighteen battalions of foot, fourteen ſquadrons of dragoons, and two thouſand light horſe, under the command of prince Thierri of Anhalt Deſſau, to make an attempt upon the town of IGLAU. The troops ſent upon this expedition conſiſted partly of Pruſſians, and partly of Saxons; and on the day following the town was taken, and prince Thierri garriſoned it with Saxon troops. Four days after, the king himſelf arrived at ZNAYM, a frontier town of Moravia, of which he made him-

[95] King of Pruſſia's Campaigns, p. 11.

ſelf

ſelf maſter, and in which he found ſome provi- CHAP. VI.
ſions, old cannon, and a great quantity of ball [96]. A. D.

IN March, prince Thierri made himſelf maſter 1742.
of the town and caſtle of GORDINO on the frontiers of Hungary; and the king detached major-general de Poſadowſki, and colonel de Schmettau, with three battalions of foot, and two thouſand horſe, to ſcour the country round Vienna, and to raiſe contributions. Heavy contributions were, indeed, levied by the king of Pruſſia on the Auſtrian inhabitants of theſe countries in the courſe of his progreſs [97]; and they ſometimes experienced conſiderable evils even from the Auſtrian troops, though they ſuffered ſtill greater calamities from the Pruſſians [K]. On the twenty-fifth of April, the citadel

[96] King of Pruſſia's Campaigns, p. 15, 18.

[97] Gentleman's Magazine, vol. XII. p. 111. Campaigns of the King of Pruſſia, ut ſupra, p. 19.

[K] The author of the *King of Pruſſia's Campaigns*, who was preſent in the Pruſſian camp, at the time when the Auſtrians expected that the ſiege of Brinn was about to commence, ſays, 'General Rothe, at that time commandant of Brinn, endeavoured to prevent, as long as he could, the blockade of that town: for he had begun to burn the villages that were neareſt to it, and was proceeding farther as the Saxons approached; which they did from the 24th to the 29th of March, and conſequently more ſlowly than the king had commanded. We ſaw every evening ſome habitations in flames, and reckoned fifteen country towns and villages, which the enemy had themſelves reduced to aſhes.' P. 30.

Of

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tadel of Glatz, which had ſuſtained a long ſiege, ſurrendered to the arms of Frederick. The garriſon, which at the beginning of the blockade, had amounted to more than fifteen hundred, when it marched out conſiſted only of two hundred and ſixty men bearing arms, and three hundred ſick; all the reſt being dead, except ſome who had deſerted. Thirty-ſix braſs cannon were found in the fortreſs, together with ſome mortars, and warlike ſtores [98].

Of the cruelties exercised by the Pruſſians, the following paſſage from the ſame work affords no inconſiderable evidence. 'On the 16th of April, we proceeded to Hoen-Mauth; where 'the king had advice, that the rear-guard of the Saxons had 'been attacked by a detachment from the garriſon of Brinn, 'and that four companies of the count de Koſell's regiment, 'commanded by colonel Sedenz, had been entirely cut to pieces, 'except the colonel, and nine private men, who, after a gallant 'reſiſtance, ſurrendered priſoners of war. They alſo loſt four 'pieces of cannon. General Jaſmoud, who was marching to 'their relief, came too late. But becauſe the peaſants had fired 'upon him, and he underſtood that they had aſſiſted in the maſ'ſacre of the Saxons, together with their wives and children, 'he made repriſals on them, and extirpated all the inhabitants, 'without diſtinction of age or ſex.' *Ibid.* p. 36, 37. The crime of which theſe Auſtrian peaſants had been guilty, and for which ſo bloody a revenge was taken, was that of joining with the troops of their own nation, in fighting againſt the invaders of their country. It does not appear even from this relation, written by an officer in the Pruſſian ſervice, that quarter had been refuſed to ſuch of the Saxons as would throw down their arms.

[98] Campaigns of the King of Pruſſia, p. 52.

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THE king of Pruſſia was active and alert in his operations againſt the Auſtrians; but many circumſtances conſpired to prevent his obtaining the ſucceſs againſt them that he deſired. The Auſtrian army, under the command of prince Charles of Lorrain, brother to the grand duke of Tuſcany, was very conſiderable; and prince Lobkowitz had alſo a large body of Auſtrian forces under his command. The French and Saxon generals did not readily act in concert with the king of Pruſſia; and a jealouſy likewiſe ſubſiſted between the French generals, Belleiſle and Broglio, which prevented them from acting with ſufficient vigour againſt the Auſtrians. Theſe circumſtances, therefore, obliged Frederick to adopt a different mode of conduct from that which he had intended; and as he received certain intelligence, that prince Charles of Lorrain, at the head of thirty thouſand infantry, and eighteen thouſand cavalry, was advancing againſt him, he found it neceſſary to abandon Olmutz, and to retreat from Moravia. But the Pruſſian regiments were previouſly ordered to lay the country entirely waſte, in order to deprive the Auſtrian troops of ſubſiſtence, if they ſhould endeavour to eſtabliſh themſelves there.

THE retreat of the king of Pruſſia was conſidered as an event of great importance by the Auſtrians, as it appeared to afford them an opportunity of uniting their whole force againſt the French under Belleiſle and Broglio. But the Pruſſian monarch, having

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ing received a conſiderable reinforcement under the prince of Anhalt Deſſau, marched to the relief of his allies in Bohemia. On the 13th of May, the king was encamped, in a very advantageous ſituation, near Chrudim [L]. But prince Charles of

[L] Of the camp at CHRUDIM, and the king's march to it, the following particulars are related by the author of the *King of Pruſſia's Campaigns*. 'The king ſet out for Chrudim at 'eight o'clock in the morning, at the head of the two battalions 'of his guards, and marched to the eminence deſigned for the 'general quarters. The weather was extremely fine; and the 'proſpect of the plains and mountains, which are ſeen from the 'top of this eminence, as agreeable as you can poſſibly conceive. 'This was very charming in itſelf; but what rendered the ſight 'ſtill more brilliant, was, that you could perceive columns of 'infantry and cavalry, coming from all quarters, like lines 'drawn from different points to reunite in a center. You know 'the beauty of our men, and the implements of war: yet I 'may venture to tell you, that you can ſcarcely form an ade-'quate idea thereof; as I am perſuaded, that the moſt fertile 'imagination cannot draw to the life a picture ſo exquiſitely 'compleat. The columns were marching from all parts over 'the plain, and one might ſee them diſtinctly from the general 'quarters; but as they had ſome paſſes and defiles to come 'through, before they could arrive, one would have thought 'they came out of the heart of the mountains, and the very 'bowels of the earth. *Parturiunt montes*, &c. ſays Horace: but 'here, inſtead of the poet's mouſe, you might ſee ſtrong, ſtout 'men, and excellent ſoldiers. Even the king ſeemed to be af-'fected with ſuch a glorious ſpectacle.'

'I admired, that day, the manner in which the king, though 'fatigued, yet not ſatisfied with ſeeing every regiment take its 'proper place in the camp, made the tour of the whole, and

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of Lorrain having alſo marched into Bohemia, Frederick reſolved to engage him, before he could form a junction with the Auſtrian forces under the command of prince Lobkowitz. He, therefore, quitted his camp at Chrudim, and marched, on the fifteenth of the month, towards CZASLAU. On the ſeventeenth, at ſeven o'clock in the morning, the Auſtrian and Pruſſian armies came in ſight of each other near that town. An engagement took place between them about an hour after; when the action began by the fire of the Pruſſian artillery, which threw the left wing of the Auſtrians into ſome diſorder [99]. The Pruſſian cavalry alſo attacked that of the Auſtrians with great impetuoſity, and for ſome time had the advantage; but ſome of the Auſtrian ſquadrons fought with ſo much ardour, that the Pruſſians gave way, and the Auſtrian huſſars penetrated to the Pruſſian camp, and began to plunder the baggage. In the mean time, the infantry of both armies were cloſely engaged, and the Pruſſian infantry fought with ſuch determined bravery, that prince Charles of Lorrain at length found it neceſſary to retreat, and the king of Pruſſia remained maſter of the field of battle [M].

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Or

'took the trouble himſelf to poſt the picquets and guards on 'the left wing, leaving the diſpoſition of thoſe on the right 'to the general prince Leopold.' P. 57, 58, 59.

[99] King of Pruſſia's Campaigns, p. 64.

[M] The author of the *King of Pruſſia's Campaigns* ſays, that "the fields before Chotouſitz, and all round it, which had

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OF the troops which engaged at the battle of Czaslau, the number of the Auſtrians was ſuperior to that of the Pruſſians. The Auſtrian army conſiſted of thirty-ſeven battalions of infantry, eighty-four ſquadrons of cavalry, and twenty ſquadrons of huſſars. The Pruſſian army conſiſted of thirty-three battalions of infantry, ſixty ſquadrons of cavalry, and ten ſquadrons of huſſars [100]. It was a hard fought battle; and though the victory was gained by the Pruſſians, yet the Auſtrians are ſaid to have carried off ſome of the Pruſſian ſtandards [101]. The action laſted about four hours. The loſs of men in the two armies was variouſly repreſented; but the Auſtrians appear to have had about ſix thouſand men killed, wounded, and taken pri-

" been the ſcene of the moſt bloody part of the battle, were " quite covered with Auſtrian grenadiers, and the beſt of their " foot, who had fallen in the action; and the roads, through " which they directed their flight, were, in like manner, ſtrew- " ed with their dead, dying, and wounded." P. 69.

This writer, ſpeaking of the behaviour of the king in the action, ſays, that " during the whole engagement, he main- " tained a compoſure and preſence of mind that was truly ad- " mirable." P. 68. The ſame writer alſo ſays of prince Charles of Lorrain, that " his diſpoſitions for the battle were very " good; and with regard to his perſonal behaviour, all the " army bears him teſtimony, that he gave authentic proofs of " uncommon valour." P. 85.

[100] King of Pruſſia's Campaigns, p. 71.

[101] Gent. Mag. vol. XII. p. 277.

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ſoners [N]. The loſs ſuſtained by the Pruſſians, though not equal, ſeems not to have been greatly inferior. Many officers, and ſome of them of rank, were killed and wounded on both ſides. Seventeen braſs cannon, which the Auſtrians were obliged to abandon, fell into the hands of the Pruſſians. An Auſtrian general, and a lieutenant colonel, who had been wounded in the action, and taken priſoners, afterwards dying of their wounds, the king of Pruſſia ordered them to be interred with all the honours and ceremonies due to their military rank. Prince Charles of Lorrain returned his Pruſſian majeſty thanks, for this mark of reſpectful attention to theſe deceaſed officers; and the king's behaviour on this occaſion was extremely acceptable to the officers in the Auſtrian ſervice [102]. CHAP. VI. A. D. 1742.

AFTER the battle of Czaſlau, the king of Pruſſia wrote a letter to mareſchal Broglio, to which he added the following poſtſcript: "I have acquitted "myſelf towards my allies, for my troops have "juſt obtained a compleat victory. It is your bu- "ſineſs to avail yourſelf of it immediately, other- "wiſe you may have ſomething to anſwer for to

[N] According to the writer of the *King of Pruſſia's Campaigns*, the loſs of the Auſtrians was, however, much greater. He ſays, that count Schmettau affirmed, that he had ſeen an authentic liſt of prince Charles of Lorraine's army, by which his loſs, at the battle of Czaſlau, amounted to ten thouſand men.

[102] King of Pruſſia's Campaigns, p. 79.

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"your allies [103]." It is ſaid, that Broglio had long ſuſpected, that the king of Pruſſia would not act in ſuch a manner as to promote the views of France; and that he had repeatedly written to his court, that "they ought to have no reliance upon the "king of Pruſſia, who had nothing but his own "intereſt in view; and that before long he would "be ſeen taking the part of the queen of Hun-"gary; or at leaſt making peace with her, re-"gardleſs of France and her allies [104]." But Broglio's letters met with no credit at Verſailles, becauſe mareſchal Belleiſle, who frequently viſited the Pruſſian monarch in his camp, and who ſeems to have been amuſed by him, ſtrongly aſſured the French court of the firmneſs of his attachment to the alliance. Belleiſle, however, was ſomewhat alarmed at the poſtſcript of the king's letter to Broglio; and repaired to his camp, in order to perſuade him to be firm to their cauſe. Frederick on this occaſion ſaid to him, "I give you notice, "that prince Charles is advancing upon mareſchal "Broglio, and that if he does not avail himſelf of "the advantage I have had over the prince, I ſhall "make my own terms [105]."

SOON after the battle of Czaſlau, the king of Pruſſia encamped his army, very advantageouſly,

[103] The Private Life of Lewis XV. tranſlated by Mr. Juſtamond, vol. II. p. 86. [104] Id. ibid. [105] Id. ibid.

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in the neighbourhood of Kuttenberg [o] and the Elbe; but a negociation was about this time ſet on foot for a ſeparate peace between him and the

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[o] Of Frederick's camp at KUTTENBERG, the following account is given by the author of the *King of Pruſſia's Campaigns*. 'On the firſt of June our left wing decamped, and 'marched in two columns to join the right, which had entered 'the new camp that morning.—The right wing is covered by 'the little town of Maleſchau, and the left by the eminences 'near the village of Neſchkaretitz; ſo that the extent from wing 'to wing is three quarters of a German mile. Our front is 'every where inacceſſible, having all along it moraſſes, hollow 'ways, and very narrow defiles. In the few places where an 'enemy might attempt to beat up our quarters, the king has 'cauſed ſtrong redoubts to be built, and well provided with ar'tillery, which render thoſe places as little liable to inſult as the 'reſt. The right flank is covered alſo by moraſſes and hollow 'ways, and the left by ſmall rivulets and marſhes. In the rear 'of the camp there are numerous pits of prodigious depth; and 'theſe pits, which are the remains of the ſilver mines formerly 'worked in this place, reach from the right wing to the town 'of Kuttenberg; which town, together with a vaſt number of 'hollow ways, covers the rear of our left wing. Before the 'middle of the front, and beyond the moraſſes, there is a wood 'of oaks, which begins at the top of an eminence, and reaches 'all the way down its ſides to theſe moraſſes, the dikes and 'cauſeways whereof are occupied by poſts of infantry. In the 'wood itſelf is encamped count Haudita's regiment of huſſars, 'which defends the entrance into it, and if puſhed can fall back 'under the fire of the poſts of infantry. You will underſtand 'by this deſcription, though imperfect, that our camp is very 'ſtrong, and that the king, by this poſition, has it in his power 'to accept, or to decline a battle, at his pleaſure. All the con'noiſſeurs admire it, and agree, that the choice is worthy of 'its author.' P. 80, 81, 82.

CHAP. VI. A. D. 1742. queen of Hungary. The preſent ſituation of affairs, and particularly the conſequences of the defeat of the Auſtrian army at Czaſlau, rendered a peace deſirable to the court of Vienna; and the king of Pruſſia was not averſe to it [P]. Frederick

[P] The author of the *Private Life of Lewis* XV. ſays, 'The 'queen of Hungary had been ſenſible of the neceſſity of getting 'rid of an enemy ſo formidable, from his vicinity, his youth, 'his activity, his valour, his prudence, and from the combi-'nation of the ſeveral qualities that conſtitute the general, the 'politician, and the ſtateſman. She reſolved to give up to him 'what he had conquered; ſhe, therefore, made propoſals to 'him, convinced that by this ſacrifice ſhe might preſerve the 'reſt of her dominions, and perhaps revenge herſelf for her 'loſſes upon the reſt of her enemies. The king of Pruſſia, on 'his part, was perfectly ſatisfied with obtaining by treaty the 'fruits of two campaigns, which he might have loſt again by 'the fate of arms, and he had no hopes of gaining any farther 'acquiſitions. He foreſaw, that the burthen of the war would 'in a ſhort time fall entirely upon him. The emperor's troops, 'which were commanded by bad generals, and were feeble in 'themſelves, were ſubſiſted only by the money of France, and 'would neceſſarily diſperſe whenever that ſhould fail; which 'it muſt ſoon do. The Saxons had given no proofs of great 'bravery, and had been of no uſe. When the firſt fire of the 'French was once extinguiſhed, it was to be apprehended that 'their army, being at a diſtance from home, would grow diſ-'heartened, would dwindle for want of recruits, would diſband 'itſelf, or periſh for want. Prudence required him to prevent 'all theſe misfortunes, and even to affect a moderation, which 'is always becoming to conquerors, and to aggrandize his do-'minions while he ſpared the blood of his ſubjects. He was 'not reſtrained by his engagements with his allies; he had be-'gun the war ſingly, and had made his conqueſts himſelf; he, 'there-

rick and prince Charles of Lorrain had a private interview [106]; and the earl of Hyndford, ambaſſador from the court of Great Britain, who was preſent in the Pruſſian camp, endeavoured to facilitate the negociation. That nobleman was, indeed, veſted, by her Hungarian majeſty, with full powers to treat with the Pruſſian monarch [107]. A treaty was at length concluded at Breſlaw, on the 11th of June, by which the queen of Hungary ceded to the king of Pruſſia not only the Upper and Lower Sileſia, excepting the duchies of Jagerndorff, Teſchen, and Troppau; but alſo the principality of Glatz in Bohemia. The king of Pruſſia charged himſelf with the payment of the ſums lent, by the merchants of London, to the late emperor, on the Sileſian revenues. He likewiſe engaged to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality during the war, and to withdraw his forces from Bohemia in fifteen days after the ratification of the treaty, in which were comprehended the king of Great Britain, elector of Hanover, the czarina, the king of Denmark, the States-General, the houſe of Wolfenbuttel, and

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' therefore, thought himſelf entitled to ſecure them; he conſi-
' dered himſelf as having done enough for his allies, in having
' aſſiſted their ſeveral invaſions by the powerful diverſions he
' had made.' Vol. II. p. 84, 85.

[106] Memoirs of Frederick III. King of Pruſſia, p. 63. Gent. Mag. vol. XII. p. 333.

[107] Smollet's Hiſt. of England from the Revolution, publiſhed as a Continuation of Hume, vol. III. p. 78. edit. 8vo. 1785.

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the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, on certain conditions, which were accepted.

When every thing relative to the treaty of Breslaw was concluded, the king of Prussia quitted his camp at Kuttenberg, and set out for Koningsgratz, where he arrived on the 26th of the month [108]. Besides his ordinary retinue, he was accompanied by the princes his brothers, and by prince Ferdinand of Brunswick. Having passed a night at Koningsgratz, he proceeded the next day to Glatz, where he examined the fortifications, and gave directions for the erection of some additional works. On the twenty-ninth he arrived at Neiss, where also he ordered some new fortifications to be erected. On the third of July, he came to Breslaw, where he was present, two days after, at a numerous assembly, in the palace of the bishop, cardinal Zinzendorf. A grand ball was given by the cardinal on the seventh, at which the king was present; and the following day he attended at the cathedral, where a sermon was preached by the cardinal himself. He set out the next morning for Great Glogau, from whence he proceeded to Franckfort on the Oder, and on the 12th of the month, about noon, he arrived at Berlin, where he was received by his subjects with great joy, and with loud acclamations [109]. A treaty of mutual defence and guaranty was afterwards concluded between the

[108] King of Prussia's Campaigns, ut supra, p. 93.
[109] Ibid. p. 94—102.

king

king of Great Britain and the king of Pruſſia; and which was ratified on the part of the former at Whitehall, on the eighteenth of November, 1742. CHAP. VI. A. D. 1742.

AFTER the concluſion of the treaty of Breſlaw, the French generals and troops in Bohemia found themſelves in the moſt critical ſituation. Being now wholly deſerted by the Pruſſians and Saxons, the mareſchals Belleiſle and Broglio abandoned their magazines and heavy baggage, and retired with precipitation under the cannon of Prague. There they encamped themſelves in an advantageous ſituation; and prince Charles, being joined by the Auſtrian troops under prince Lobkowitz, encamped, in ſight of them, on the hills of Giriſnitz. The grand duke of Tuſcany then arrived in the Auſtrian army, of which he took the command; and the French generals offered to ſurrender Prague, Egra, and all the other places they were in poſſeſſion of in Bohemia, provided they were allowed to march off with their arms, artillery, and baggage. This propoſal was rejected by the duke of Tuſcany, and Prague was inveſted on all ſides about the end of July. The operations of the ſiege were not well conducted; but the place was, however, ſo effectually blocked up, that famine muſt have compelled the French to ſurrender at diſcretion, if extraordinary efforts had not been made for their relief. In the mean time, the emperor had made advances to the queen of Hungary. He promiſed, that the French forces ſhould quit Bohemia, and

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evacuate the empire; and he offered to renounce all pretenſions to the kingdom of Bohemia, on condition that the Auſtrians would reſtore to him his electorate of Bavaria; but theſe conditions were declined by the court of Vienna.

THE king of France was ſoon made acquainted with the condition to which his generals, Belleiſle and Broglio, were reduced; upon which he immediately ſent orders to mareſchal Maillebois, who commanded his army on the Rhine, to march to their relief. His troops were immediately put in motion; and when they reached Amberg in the Upper Palatinate, were joined by the French and Imperialiſts from Bavaria. Prince Charles of Lorrain, having received intelligence of their junction and deſign, left eighteen thouſand men to maintain the blockade of Prague, under the command of general Feſtititz; while he himſelf, with the main body of his army, advanced towards the frontiers of the kingdom, in order to oppoſe Maillebois. He was there joined by the Auſtrian troops under count Kevenhuller, who from Bavaria had followed the enemy, now commanded by count Seckendorff, and the count de Saxe. But Seckendorff was ſent back to Bavaria, and mareſchal Maillebois entered Bohemia. He marched, however, with ſuch precaution, that prince Charles could not bring him to an engagement. In the mean time general Feſtititz, for want of ſufficient force, was obliged to abandon the blockade of

Prague;

Prague; and the French generals, being now at liberty, took poſt at Leutmaritz. Maillebois was then in Egra; ſo that a junction between him and the other French generals ſeemed not impracticable. But prince Charles, by taking poſſeſſion of the paſſes in the interpoſing mountains, utterly defeated their ſcheme. Maillebois retreated to the palatinate, whither he was followed, and extremely harraſſed on his march, by prince Charles; while prince Lobkowitz, with a ſtrong body of Auſtrian forces, obliged Belleiſle and Broglio again to ſeek refuge in the capital of Bohemia. CHAP. VI. A. D. 1742.

THE French generals were now ſurrounded on all ſides; but ſoon after the ſiege of Prague was reſumed, Broglio made his eſcape in the habit of a courier, and took upon him the command of the army of Maillebois, who was now recalled by the French court. Prince Lobkowitz, who now directed the blockade of Prague, had ſo effectually cut off all communication between the city and the adjacent country, that the French troops were reduced to great extremities, both from the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, and the want of proviſions. In this ſtate of things, mareſchal Belleiſle ſecretly reſolved to attempt a retreat. With great diligence he remounted his cavalry, and ſent troops of them out every day to forage. At laſt, by making, in one quarter of the town, a feint for a general forage, he marched out at another, with eleven thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe, and gained a day's

march

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march of prince Lobkowitz. The great extent of the walls of Prague had rendered this attempt the more practicable; and the better to amuse the enemy, he left a small garrison in the city. He had ten leagues to march before he could reach the defiles. The cold was intense, and the ground covered with snow. All the inhabitants of the country were his enemies, and prince Lobkowitz, with an army of twelve thousand infantry, and eight thousand cavalry, hung on his rear. But, under all these disadvantages, he reached the defiles with his army unbroken. With so much judgment had he planned his route, that, though the Austrians occupied all the passes on the two principal roads that led to Egra, he was enabled to continue his progress, by striking through frozen marshes, which had, perhaps, never before been trodden by the foot of man; he himself always pointing the way, though confined to his carriage by the gout. After a fatiguing march of twelve days, he reached Egra, which was still in the hands of the French, and entered Alsace without the loss of a single man by the hands of the enemy; though more than eight hundred of his soldiers lost their lives, in consequence of the hardships they underwent, and the extreme rigour of the season [110].

During these transactions, the emperor of Germany was stripped of all his dominions; and being

[110] Hist. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 82, 84. and Smollet, ut supra.

now

now abandoned by his allies, he retired to Franckfort, where he lived in indigence and obſcurity. "He was even deſtitute," ſays Voltaire, "of the "means of ſupporting his family in that imperial "city, in which no perſon would advance a penny "to the chief of the empire." But mareſchal de Noailles afforded him ſome aſſiſtance, by giving him a bill of credit for 40,000 crowns on the French king [111]. Some attempts were now made towards an accommodation between the emperor and the queen of Hungary, but without ſucceſs; and the Auſtrians having now taken poſſeſſion of Prague, that princeſs was crowned queen of Bohemia in that city.

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[111] Age of Lewis XV. ch. 10.

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CHAP. VII.

Frederick applies himſelf to the regulation of the internal government of his kingdom, and eſtabliſhes a new academy of ſciences and belles lettres at Berlin.—Marriage of the princeſs Ulrica, the king's ſiſter, with the prince-royal of Sweden.—Frederick again prepares for war.—His anſwers to the requiſitions made by the earl of Hyndford, as ambaſſador from Great Britain.—He concludes a treaty at Francfort, and engages to ſupport the emperor.—Publiſhes a manifeſto againſt the queen of Hungary, and ſends reſcripts to the different courts of Europe.

THE king of Pruſſia, after his return to Berlin, was extremely attentive to the regulation of the internal government of his kingdom, and to the forming ſuch eſtabliſhments as would contribute to its proſperity and ſplendour. He alſo viſited different parts of his dominions, receiving as he paſſed petitions from his ſubjects, inquiring into their grievances, and into the adminiſtration of juſtice, the ſtate of his revenues, and the condition of his troops. On theſe occaſions he ſeldom ſtaid longer at any place than was neceſſary to make the proper inquiries; and he travelled with a ſmall retinue, and with great rapidity.

FROM the commencement of Frederick's reign, he had been ſolicitous to eſtabliſh in his dominions

nions a reſpectable academy of ſciences and belles lettres; but the operations of war had hitherto retarded his deſign. His grandfather, Frederick I. had inſtituted a royal ſociety at Berlin for the promotion of ſcience, the plan of which was formed, and the ſtatutes of it drawn up, by the celebrated Leibnitz; who had been prevailed upon by the queen, Sophia Charlotte, to reſide in the Pruſſian dominions. Leibnitz was appointed the firſt preſident, and continued in that office till his death. He obtained from the king, in behalf of the ſociety, the excluſive privilege of printing all the almanacks uſed in the Pruſſian dominions; on condition that the ſociety ſhould furniſh the public with every kind of almanack, compoſed with the greateſt accuracy, and in the moſt convenient form [112]. The ſociety derived conſiderable emolument from this privilege, and their almanacks were conſidered as the moſt correct and ingenious of any in Europe. By the income hence derived, the neceſſary expences of the ſociety were defrayed, and penſions provided for ſuch of the members as were reſident at Berlin, and actively employed in ſcientific purſuits. At the recommendation of M. Leibnitz, the ſociety alſo eſtabliſhed an anatomical theatre, in which able profeſſors were appointed to read public lectures, and who were furniſhed with proper ſubjects from the hoſpitals. While Leibnitz lived,

[112] Bielfeld's Letters, vol. I. p. 153, 154.

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and during the reign of Frederick I. the ſociety continued to be in a reſpectable ſtate, and their tranſactions were regularly publiſhed. But after the acceſſion of Frederick William, who paid little attention to literature or ſcience, and therefore did not give much countenance to the ſociety, it greatly declined, and ſunk in its reputation. No part of the inſtitution was regarded by the king, but that which related to anatomy, which he conſidered as beneficial to his army, becauſe it promoted ſkill in ſurgery. In other reſpects, he treated the ſociety with little regard [q]; and by his direction perſons of no merit, but who happened to be his favourites, were penſioned out of their revenues. On the acceſſion of Frederick III. he invited learned men into his dominions, and aſſembled ſuch perſons together as were qualified to form a reſpectable academy. But the eſtabliſhment of a new academy being delayed, by the military enterprizes in which the king was engaged, mareſchal

[q] Bielfeld ſays, 'The king propoſed to the ſociety, from 'time to time, queſtions of mere drollery, and they anſwered 'him in a ſuitable ſtrain. He once aſked them, for example: "What was the phyſical cauſe, that two glaſſes, when filled "with champaign wine, and ſtruck againſt each other, gave "not that clear and ſharp tone, as when filled with any other "wine? And what was the cauſe of their dull and flat ſound." The members anſwered, that as 'they had not been uſed to 'drink champaign, they could not pretend to aſſign the cauſe. 'The king ſent them a dozen bottles to make the experiment. 'They drank out the wine, but determined nothing.' Letters, vol. I. p. 158.

Schmettau,

Schmettau, field general of the ordnance, and M. Borck, cabinet miniſter to the king, agreed between themſelves to collect a literary ſociety, and to have their meetings at each others houſes alternately. They opened their plan to baron Bielfeld and to M. Jordan, a privy counſellor, and a great favourite of the king. Theſe gentlemen heartily concurred in the deſign, and many others were ſoon admitted into this new ſociety. Their firſt meeting was at mareſchal Schmettau's, and it was opened by M. Francheville, who read an ode compoſed for the occaſion. They then ſketched out a ſet of laws, in which the following poſitions were laid down as fundamental maxims: "That this was not an em- "pire, or kingdom, but a republic of learning, "the citizens of which muſt enjoy the greateſt "freedom, if any thing excellent was expected "from their labours; that the underſtanding could "ſuffer no reſtraint; that the members of this "ſociety were not pupils; and that there wanted "no other regulations, but ſuch as were neceſſary "to preſerve order, and to connect the members "into a perfect union with each other [113]."

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THE king being made acquainted with this new literary ſociety, and having teſtified his approbation of it, it was ſoon reſolved to inſtitute a new ROYAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES AND BELLES LETTRES, by uniting this new ſociety to the old

[113] Bielfeld's Letters, vol. I. p. 161, 162.

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royal ſociety of Berlin. Accordingly by a royal edict, dated the thirteenth of November, 1743, his majeſty appointed ſeveral commiſſioners, who were directed to inquire into the ſtate of the finances of the old royal ſociety, and to draw up the inſtitutes of the new academy. Among the commiſſioners for this purpoſe were mareſchal Schmettau, count Podewils, baron Bielfeld, and M. Jordan [R]. The whole plan was at length adjuſted, and

[R] CHARLES STEPHEN JORDAN was born at Berlin, on the 27th of Auguſt, 1700. His father was a French Proteſtant, who having brought up three of his other ſons to trade, reſolved to bring up Charles Stephen, who was the youngeſt, to the church, though this deſtination ſeems not to have been agreeable to his ſon's inclination. Young Jordan had, however, a ſtrong propenſity to reading; and he was ſent to ſtudy at Magdeburgh, under the eye of an uncle, one of the paſtors of that place. In 1719, he was removed to Geneva, where he ſtudied under the ableſt profeſſors in philoſophy, eloquence, and divinity; and afterwards proſecuted his ſtudies for ſome time at Lauſanne. He returned to Berlin, and in 1725, was made miniſter of the pariſh of Potzlow, a village belonging to one of the marches of Brandenburgh. In 1727, he was removed to Prentzlow, and then married Lauſanne Perrault, a lady of great virtue and accompliſhments, by whom he had two daughters. In this ſituation he lived very happily five years, performing in an exemplary manner the duties of the paſtoral office; but in 1732 he loſt his wife, which ſo much affected him, that his grief impaired his health, and brought on an expectoration of blood, which had nearly proved fatal to him. At this time the baroneſs of Knyphauſen made a propoſal to him, that he ſhould undertake the care of her eldeſt ſon, and attend him in a journey to Holland, England, and France. He accepted

and approved by the king, who wrote an ode on the occaſion, and was declared protector of the

cepted of this offer, quitted his ſtation as a miniſter, and travelled into thoſe countries, where he became acquainted with ſome of the moſt eminent literary men of that age; and he afterwards publiſhed an account of his travels, in one volume, 12mo.

After his return to Berlin, in 1736, his merit as a literary man attracted the notice of the prince-royal of Pruſſia, who took him into his ſervice, and whom he aſſiſted in his ſtudies. He reſided with the prince at Rheinſberg till his acceſſion to the throne, when he was made a privy counſellor, and henceforward particularly attended to the regulation of the police of Berlin. Under his inſpection, the ſtreets were cleared of beggars, and a workhouſe was eſtabliſhed, in which a thouſand perſons were ſubſiſted by their own labour, without any expence to the ſtate; and under his care the city of Berlin was alſo divided into wards, and a proper perſon appointed in each, to ſee the laws of the police duly obeyed. He attended alſo to the public ſchools, and other ſeminaries of learning, and was particularly attentive to the intereſts of the new academy of arts and ſciences, over which he preſided as vice-preſident. He attended the king into Sileſia, at the time when he made a conqueſt of that province. After a long and painful illneſs, which he endured with great patience and reſignation, he died at Berlin, on the 24th of May, 1745, in the forty-fifth year of his age. On account of his having wholly quitted the miniſtry, intimations had been thrown out, that he was a diſbeliever of the Chriſtian religion. But, a few days before his death, he ſaid to baron Bielfeld, "Remember, that I die in the belief of the divine miſſion of "Jeſus Chriſt; and ſay it to the king, when you find a fit "opportunity." The king himſelf wrote an *Eloge* upon him, which was read before the royal academy at Berlin, and which has been printed in French, Engliſh, and German. M. Jordan publiſhed a life of M. CROZE, who had in the earlier part of his life aſſiſted him in his ſtudies; and alſo *an Recueil de Literature, de Philoſophie, & d'Hiſtoire*, in 12mo.

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new academy. Four curators were appointed, who were to preſide alternately, each for ſix months. Theſe were mareſchal Schmettau, count Gotter, M. Viereck, and M. Borck, all miniſters of ſtate; and M. Jordan was appointed vice-preſident. M. Jariges, a privy counſellor [s], was appointed ſecretary; and profeſſor Formey academical hiſtoriographer [t]. The academy was divided into four

[s] The title of *privy-counſellor* in Pruſſia is merely an honorary title; at leaſt it was ſo during the reign of the late king. It was not the cuſtom of Frederick to aſk any advice of his privy counſellors.

[t] J. H. SAMUEL FORMEY was born at Berlin in the year 1711, and early intended by his parents for the miniſtry. In 1720, he was placed in the French college, which he quitted in 1725, having gone through all its claſſes; and afterwards attended, for two years, M. la Croze, profeſſor of philoſophy. In 1727, he was admitted a *propoſant*, an appellation given to young divines licenſed to preach; and in 1731, he was called to the church of Brandenburgh. But here he ſtaid only a few weeks, being removed to the paſtorſhip of the church of Frederickſtadt at Berlin. He afterwards aſſiſted M. de Beauſobre in the *Bibliotheque Germanique*; and when that gentleman died, in 1738, he continued to execute a part of that work in conjunction with M. de Mauclerc. But M. de Mauclerc alſo dying in 1742, the whole of that publication was for ſome time written by M. Formey only. With the aſſiſtance of M. de Perard, he afterwards began *La Nouvelle Bibliotheque Germanique*; and for many years that literary journal was written by M. Formey alone, and publiſhed four times every year. But long before this period of his life, in the year 1737, he was made profeſſor of eloquence in the French college; and in 1739, was promoted to the chair of philoſophy.

four classes, each of which had its director and secretary. The first class had for its object the mathematics, in their full extent; the second, speculative philosophy, metaphysics, morality, the laws of nature and nations, &c. the third, physics, and experimental philosophy, including chymistry, &c. and the fourth was appropriated to literature and the polite arts. The academy was to meet every Thursday afternoon; and in each class, by rotation, some performance, relative to the business of that class, was to be read by one of the members. After the reading was over, it was the business of the secretary to give an account of all letters, propositions, or subjects of inquiry, which

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On the establishment of the new academy of sciences and belles lettres at Berlin, M. Formey was appointed historiographer, and in 1748 he was made perpetual secretary; and from that time he digested the *Memoires de l'Academie*. He also wrote many other works, in the French language, particularly the life of John Philip Barretier, from materials furnished by the father of that extraordinary young man; a concise History of Philosophy and Philosophers, which has been translated into English; an Abridgment of Ecclesiastical History, which has also been translated into English, in two volumes, 8vo. as has likewise a small volume of Philosophical Miscellanies, and Elementary principles of the belles lettres. He also published, Moral Discourses; Sermons; Principles of the law of nature and nations, &c. He had likewise projected a Philosophical Dictionary, and made a considerable progress in it; but upon the appearance of the plan of the *Encyclopedie*, he transmitted his materials to the editors of that great work, and many of the articles which he had written were inserted in it.

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had been communicated by foreign members, or other correſpondents; and the members of the academy preſent alſo related any diſcoveries, or improvements in ſcience, which they had made, and which they thought proper to communicate. Out of the papers read before the academy ſome were to be ſelected every year for publication: and there were to be two public annual meetings of the academy; one on the 24th of January, the king's birth-day; and the other on the 31ſt of May, the day of his acceſſion to the throne [114].

AFTER the eſtabliſhment of the new academy, one of the moſt remarkable events which took place at Berlin, about the ſame time, was the marriage of the princeſs Louiſa Ulrica, the king's ſiſter, with the prince-royal of Sweden. They were married in July, 1744. The prince of Pruſſia was proxy for the Swediſh prince on this occaſion. The ceremony was performed with great magnificence; and the king of Pruſſia himſelf appeared with unuſual ſplendour of dreſs. "The king's dreſs," ſays Bielfeld, "was of a bright blue, completely cover-"ed with ſilver embroidery [115]." A ſumptuous entertainment [u] followed the ceremony; comedies,

[114] Bielfeld's Letters, vol. I. p. 165, 166, 167, 168.

[115] Ibid. p. 180.

[u] Bielfeld ſays, 'The king ſat down early to table, and 'to that where his majeſty ſat, none were admitted but princes 'and princeſſes, excepting the ladies of the ambaſſadors. All 'the

dies, operas, and balls, were given on ſeveral ſubſequent days; and a magnificent ſupper [v], in a gallery

'the diſhes, plates, chandeliers, and, in ſhort, every thing that 'was uſed at this table, was of ſolid gold. There were beſides 'four other ſumptuous tables, which were placed in rooms 'adjacent to the great hall; and, in every reſpect, this royal 'feaſt was conducted with a ſplendour and magnificence, which 'had never before been ſeen in Berlin. After dinner, there was 'danced, as uſual, on the occaſion, the dance of torches, which 'was followed by a ball, that laſted till broad day. The next 'day, which was Wedneſday, there was a comedy, and in the 'evening an open table at court. On Thurſday her majeſty, the 'reigning queen, gave a noble entertainment at Schonhauſen. 'On Friday there was an opera; and on Saturday her majeſty, 'the queen mother, gave a ſupper, an illumination, and a ball, 'at Monbijoux.' Letters, ut ſupra, p. 181, 182.

[v] 'Monday afternoon,' ſays Bielfeld, 'the court, and the 'gentry of the town, of both ſexes, went, with their gay car-'riages and liveries, to Charlottenbourg. This proceſſion, by 'affording a very pleaſing proſpect, made part of the entertain-'ments. The great road that goes through the Thiergarden of 'Berlin, and quite up to Charlottenbourg, was thronged with 'company. At different ſpaces on the road, tents were ſet up, 'where the citizens of Berlin repoſed, refreſhed, and amuſed 'themſelves, with beholding the tranſition of the ſplendid 'equipages, ſome drawn by pairs, and ſome by ſets of horſes. 'When the company came to the palace, they aſſembled in the '*orangerie*, which forms a gallery of a prodigious length. This 'whole gallery was adorned with wreaths and groups of flowers, 'and with lamps of various colours; and in every window was 'placed an orange tree in bloom, which, at the ſame time that 'they afforded a delightful proſpect, gave a moſt agreeable ſcent 'to the whole apartment. At the end of this gallery was erected 'a ſmall elegant theatre, where his majeſty cauſed an Italian

'*operetta*,

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gallery belonging to the royal palace of Charlottenbourg. The king wrote an ode on the departure of

'*operetta*, or paſtoral, to be performed, which was interſperſed 'with very fine dances. The incomparable Solembini here ex'celled himſelf.

'When the opera was over, the whole court went on the 'great terrace, from whence they beheld the whole garden 'illuminated. After half an hour ſpent in walking, they ſat 'down to ſupper. Never before did I eat at ſo great a table, 'and probably never ſhall again. It conſiſted of three hundred 'covers, and took up almoſt the whole *orangerie*, from one end 'to the other. All perſons of any rank were admitted without 'diſtinction. The king, the queens, the princes, and princeſſes, 'ſat at the middle of this table, under a ſort of canopy; and on 'each ſide of them ſat the cabinet miniſters, the foreign miniſ'ters, and ladies of the firſt quality; and, after them, the reſt 'of the company without ceremony, each one where he could 'find a place.

'The ſupper was magnificent, and every part of it in the 'higheſt perfection. There was not the leaſt want of any thing, 'and the company was ſerved with the greateſt regularity and 'diſpatch: for which purpoſe the king's whole livery, and a 'hundred huntſmen attended: and for their greater convenience, 'in every nich of the gallery was placed a ſide-board, where they 'found every thing neceſſary ready to their hands. As a vaſt 'number of plates and diſhes were requiſite to ſerve a table of 'three hundred perſons, it was found neceſſary, on this occa'ſion, to take a large quantity of plate out of the royal treaſury, 'where it had been depoſited by Frederick I. and Frederick 'William. In a word, every part of this repaſt was complete. 'The company ſat long at table; and were greatly pleaſed with 'partaking of an entertainment that the king alone could give.

'After table the company returned to the garden; and on the 'Spree, that runs at the bottom of it, by his majeſty's direction,

'a very

of his ſiſter, and appeared to be much affected on the occaſion. She is deſcribed as a very amiable princeſs [w]. CHAP. VII. A. D. 1744.

BUT

'a very grand fire-work was played off. While this was per-
'forming, M. Frederſtorf cauſed the table to be removed, and
'the *orangeris* prepared for a ball. We were aſtoniſhed at our
'return. The alteration was ſo ſudden, that it appeared to be
'the work of enchantment. The king opened the ball with the
'princeſs royal of Sweden, and the whole court danced till day-
'light: and on our return to Berlin, we found the road ſtill
'filled with company.' Letters, ut ſupra, p. 182—186.

[w] The following account is given by Bielfeld of the departure of the princeſs from Berlin: 'At length the day of ſe-
'paration arrived. The king had appointed the chief mareſ-
'chal, count Gotter, to conduct the princeſs to Stralſund,
'where two Swediſh ſenators, ſeveral of the nobility, with other
'ladies and gentlemen of the court, waited to receive her. His
'majeſty, who judged, by the emotions of his own heart, that
'the moment of ſeparation would be attended with the ſevereſt
'affliction, directed an opera to be performed, with a view to
'diſſipate the thoughts of it: and ordered the ordinary table
'to be ſerved in the great hall, with a cold, but very elegant
'collation.

'The plan was ſo laid, that, after the opera, the princeſs
'ſhould make a ſhort ſupper, ſlip on her riding cloak, embrace
'her relations, throw herſelf into the coach, and depart like
'lightning. Count Gotter was charged to conduct this plan,
'and to haſten the departure. But all his care was uſeleſs. The
'tranſcendent virtues of the princeſs Ulrica made her too dear
'to her family, and her country, to ſuffer the cruel moment of
'eternal ſeparation to paſs without marks of the deepeſt diſtreſs.

'When I entered the opera, I ſaw grief and dejection on
'every countenance. The princeſs was dreſſed in a roſe co-
'loured Amazonian habit, trimmed with ſilver: the lappets and
'veſt

CHAP. VII. A. D. 1744. BUT the king of Pruſſia was far from being wholly occupied in ſuch domeſtic attentions, and pacific employments. In the midſt of apparent peace, he was

'veſt were of a ſea green. She had on an Engliſh hat of black 'velvet, adorned with a white feather; and her flowing hair 'was tied with a roſe coloured ribband. She appeared as beau-'tiful as love itſelf. But this elegant dreſs, which heightened 'her charms, increaſed our anxiety, by telling us, that the hour 'was come, when we were to loſe her for ever. In the ſecond 'act, the young prince Ferdinand came into the ſtate-box, threw 'his arms round the princeſs's neck, and bathing her with his 'tears, cried out, *Ah! my dear Ulrica, now it is done! now I 'ſhall never ſee you more!* The grief that lay ſmothering at every 'heart, touched by theſe words, burſt forth with greater vio-'lence. The princeſs held her brother faſt in her arms, and 'could only anſwer with ſighs and tears. The two queens could 'no longer refrain from weeping. The princes and princeſſes 'joined their tears.—The grief was infectious; it ſeized in a 'moment all the firſt ranks of the boxes, which were filled with 'the principal nobility. Every one had diſtinct cauſe for ſor-'row, and every one melted into tears. Nobody any longer 'regarded the opera, and I found my heart ſo oppreſſed and af-'flicted, that I was glad when it was over.

'A ſecret motion carried me, againſt my will, into the pa-'lace. I entered the king's chamber, and found the whole royal 'family, ſurrounded by part of the nobility. Here was the 'fulneſs of ſorrows. Every one was diſſolved in grief: and here 'I beheld a ſcene, the more affecting as it was the mere work 'of nature; and where the ſincerity of paſſion was expreſſed 'with an energy, that it is impoſſible for art to imitate. The 'king had written an ode on the departure of the princeſs, 'wherein he gave her the laſt adieu, in a moſt tender and af-'fecting manner.—His majeſty gave it the princeſs, at the mo-'ment ſhe was going to embrace the queen. She caſt her eyes

'over

was preparing for war; and his preparations were ſo manifeſt, and ſo conſiderable, as to excite the jealouſy and apprehenſion of the court of Vienna. At the beginning of the preſent year, a war had alſo broken out between England and France; and as a treaty of mutual defence and guaranty had been concluded between the king of Pruſſia, and the king of Great Britain, at the cloſe of the year 1742, his Britannick majeſty, by his ambaſſador, the earl of Hyndford, made a requiſition to his Pruſſian majeſty of a body of troops, in conformity to the terms of the treaty of mutual defence and guaranty, and alſo agreeably to ſome ſtipulations which had been made in the treaty of Breſlaw. When lord

'over it; her ſpirits left her, and ſhe fainted under the weight 'of diſtreſs. Scarcely could the king reſtrain his ſpirits from 'following her's: the tears flowed haſtily down his cheeks. All 'the princes and princeſſes ſtood fixed in grief. At laſt count 'Gotter, who thought it was now time to end this mournful 'ſcene, ruſhed into the chamber, like the north wind upon a 'bed of roſes, with noiſe and fury; forced through the circle; 'ſnatched the princeſs from the arms of the queen her mother; 'and bore her out of the chamber. The whole court followed; 'and, in a moment, the princeſs found herſelf in the coach, 'which ſtood in the court before the palace.—The counteſs of 'Schwerin, who was appointed to accompany the princeſs to 'Stralſund, and the ladies Von Kneſebeck and Sparre, placed 'themſelves in the coach with her highneſs. The ſtroke was 'inſtantaneous. The coachman drove furiouſly on; the coach 'flew before our eyes; and, in a moment, the king and the 'court loſt ſight of the beloved Ulrica for ever; and remained, 'for ſome minutes, amazed and motionleſs. *Ibid.* p. 188—193.

Hynd-

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Hyndford had a private audience of the Pruſſian monarch on this ſubject, and expreſſed the confidence that his maſter had, that his Pruſſian majeſty would comply with the ſtipulations of the treaties between Great Britain and Pruſſia, Frederick, after a ſhort pauſe, replied to the Britiſh ambaſſador in the following terms: 'His Britannick majeſty cannot render me greater juſtice, than in not doubting of my punctuality to execute the treaties I have concluded with him. My intention is to confirm him in this idea, by faithfully and literally fulfilling all my engagements. Not only ten thouſand men ſhall be ready for the king your maſter, when it happens that he is the firſt attacked; but I will with pleaſure, in ſuch caſe, ſupply him even with thirty thouſand; and, if needful, I will go at their head to defend Great Britain. But the caſe in queſtion is quite different: his moſt Chriſtian majeſty pretends not to be the aggreſſor. He aſſures me, that he is not: and, on the contrary, maintains, that he is the offended, and even injured party; and that his Britannick majeſty is the party attacking, having cauſed his troops to march into Alſace, and to make irruptions into that province. I am conſequently, in the firſt place, indiſpenſably bound, to examine ſeriouſly the reaſons on both ſides, to the end that I may not deviate from any of the treaties into which I have entered. In the mean time, his Britannick majeſty may reſt aſſured, that

'that I shall take no step, which shall be contrary 'to the neutrality which I am resolved punctually 'to observe, unless any power of the empire shall 'give me occasion to change my resolution in this 'respect [116].' CHAP. VII. A. D. 1744.

The earl of Hyndford was astonished at the king's speech; but, after his surprize was somewhat abated, he urged a variety of arguments, to shew that the French king ought to be considered as the first and sole aggressor. To these arguments Frederick answered, 'All these reasons from you 'are excellent; but how can you be assured, that 'his most Christian majesty will not allege some 'on his side that are equally weighty, and that will 'plainly shew his Britannick majesty to be the ag-'gressor?' The British ambassador was about to reply, but the king put an end to the audience, by giving his excellency to understand, that it was the day of extraordinary dispatches, and that time pressed [117].

THE king of England afterwards wrote to his ambassador, and observed, that he could not comprehend that the least difficulty should have arisen about the execution of the treaties, which subsisted between him and his Prussian majesty. 'It was 'notorious,' he said, 'that the French king ought 'to be considered as the sole aggressor in the pre-

[116] Letter of lord Hyndford to king George II. published in the Gentleman's Magazine, vol. XIV. p. 325, 326.

[117] Id. ibid.

'sent

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'ſent war. It was a very wicked pretence, that 'the ſworn enemies of the houſe of Auſtria had 'made uſe of, in ſaying, that his Britannick ma-'jeſty ſhould be regarded as the aggreſſor, when 'all the world knew, that immediately after the 'death of the late emperor, and long before the 'Britiſh troops had croſſed the ſea, France had 'formed factions in the empire, and ſoon after-'wards cauſed her troops to march againſt her ma-'jeſty of Hungary, and to carry fire and ſword 'with them into the Auſtrian dominions, and all 'this a year and a half before the Britiſh forces 'marched into Germany, and which, when they 'did go thither, only went as auxiliaries to the 'queen of Hungary. But it was too apparent, 'that the enemies of the houſe of Auſtria had omit-'ted nothing, in order to induce other powers to 'act in conformity to their views, and to their 'wicked intentions [118].' His Britannick majeſty, however, expreſſed his hopes, that the king of Pruſſia would at length be induced to comply with the terms of the treaties, which ſubſiſted between him and Great Britain: but Frederick had other deſigns, and intended to employ his troops in a very different manner.

No accommodation had as yet taken place between the emperor and the queen of Hungary, nor had the former been reſtored to his electoral dominions, but continued to reſide at Franckfort, in

[118] Letters of lord Hyndford to king George II. ut ſupra.

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a very indigent and diſtreſſed condition. The principal reaſon aſſigned by the court of Vienna, for not coming to terms with the emperor, was, that his imperial majeſty's councils were under the influence of the court of France, that his troops, as elector of Bavaria, were employed in promoting the views of that court, and in advancing the ambitious deſigns that it had formed, of extending the French dominions, at the expence of the princes of Germany. However, on the 27th of May, 1744, a treaty was concluded at Franckfort, between the emperor, the king of Pruſſia, the king of Sweden, as landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, and the Elector Palatine; by which they engaged to preſerve the conſtitutions of the empire, according to the treaty of Weſtphalia, and to ſupport the emperor in his rank and dignity. They agreed to employ their good offices with the queen of Hungary, that ſhe might be induced to acknowledge the emperor, to reſtore his hereditary dominions, and to give up the archives of the empire that were in her poſſeſſion. They guarantied to each other their reſpective territories; and the diſputes about the ſucceſſion of the late emperor, they referred to the deciſion of the ſtates of the empire. They promiſed to aſſiſt one another in caſe of being attacked; and they invited the king of Poland, the elector of Cologne, and the biſhop of Liege, to accede to this treaty. A ſeparate agreement was alſo made between the king of Pruſſia and the emperor,

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peror, by which the former engaged to put his imperial majesty in possession of Bohemia, and to guaranty to him Upper Austria, as soon as conquered, on condition that he should give up to his Prussian majesty the town and circle of Koningsgratz, in its whole extent, with all the country situated between the frontiers of Silesia and the river Elbe, and from the town and circle of Koningsgratz to the confines of Saxony [119]. Frederick also entered into a treaty with the court of France, and agreed to act in concert with the French army; but he was not to take up arms, till he saw France act with vigour against Austria. Another treaty was likewise concluded at Worms, between the king of Great Britain, the queen of Hungary, the elector of Saxony, the king of Sardinia, and the republic of Holland.

ON the 10th of August, this year, the king of Prussia published a manifesto at Berlin, in which he declared, that 'He thought himself obliged to 'inform all Europe, of the resolution which the 'present conjuncture obliged him to take, for the 'public welfare and *tranquility*. His majesty, not 'being able to look any longer with indifference 'upon the troubles which desolated Germany, after 'having tried, in vain, all ways of bringing about 'a reconciliation, found himself obliged to make 'use of the forces, which God had given him, to-'wards re-establishing *peace* and *order*, and for re-

[119] Hist. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 108.

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'ſtoring the laws to their vigour, and the head of 'the empire to his authority.' CHAP. VII. A. D. 1744.

It was alſo obſerved, in the ſame manifeſto, that 'ſince the ſucceſs of the Hungarian troops 'in Bavaria, the queen of Hungary, far from pro-'ceeding with the equity and moderation which 'became her, had treated the emperor's hereditary 'countries with inexpreſſible hardſhips and cruelty. 'This princeſs, and her allies, had formed deſigns 'unmeaſurably ambitious, the pernicious end of 'which was, to put fetters for ever upon the *Ger-'man liberty*; to effect which had been, for above 'an age paſt, the principal object of the dangerous 'policy of the Houſe of Auſtria. Nothing was 'neceſſary but to examine the facts, which had 'paſſed within the two laſt years, in order to judge 'of the malignity of the intentions of the court of 'Vienna, and to ſee clearly, that, in all her pro-'ceedings, ſhe had acted in a manner entirely 'contrary to the laws and conſtitutions of the em-'pire.—The king had no particular diſpute with 'the queen of Hungary. He had no pretenſion 'upon her: he *deſired nothing for himſelf*; and en-'tered no otherwiſe than in quality of an *auxiliary*, 'into a quarrel which concerned the liberties of 'the empire only; and the open war, which the 'queen of Hungary had lately declared againſt 'Germany, by the hoſtilities which her troops had 'committed there, was a ſufficient reaſon, if there

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'were no others, to juſtify the conduct of his ma-'jeſty.'

It was farther added, that 'If the king thought 'himſelf at preſent obliged, for theſe reaſons, to 'take violent meaſures, it was not without regret, 'nor without having firſt tried every method of re-'conciliation. He made ſome ſteps towards ob-'taining it with the king of England, when that 'prince was encamped at Hanau. The emperor 'too declared, at the ſame time, that for the ſake 'of peace he would for ever renounce all the pre-'tenſions which he had upon the houſe of Auſtria, 'upon condition of the reſtitution of his hereditary 'dominions. Theſe advantageous, and moſt mo-'derate terms, were flatly rejected by the Engliſh 'miniſtry; an evident proof, that the intention of 'the king of England was not to reſtore peace to 'the empire, but rather *to make his own advantage 'of its troubles.* The king did afterwards offer his 'mediation, jointly with that of the empire, to 'the maritime powers, in order to put an end to 'this fatal war: but the republic of Holland, being 'ſenſible of the obſtacles which ſhe ſhould meet 'with from the ſtiffneſs of the courts of Vienna 'and London, declined it in a pretty categorical 'manner.'—'His majeſty thought, that the moſt 'noble and the moſt worthy uſe, which he could 'make of the forces which God had entruſted him 'with, was, to employ them in the ſupport of his 'country, which the queen of Hungary would 'enſlave;

'enſlave; to vindicate the honour and the rights 'of all the electors, which that princeſs would 'forcibly deprive them of; to afford a powerful 'aſſiſtance to the emperor, in order to ſupport him 'in all his rights, and upon that throne, from which 'the queen of Hungary would pull him down. In 'a word, the king demanded nothing: the queſ- 'tion was not about his perſonal intereſt; but his 'majeſty had recourſe to arms, for no other reaſon 'than that of reſtoring liberty to the empire, dig- 'nity to the emperor, and tranquility to Europe [110].'

ABOUT the ſame time, Frederick alſo ſent reſcripts to all the courts of Europe; and it was obſervable, that in the reſcript which was tranſmitted to London, he ſeemed to addreſs himſelf not ſo much to the king of England, as to the people of England. It contained the following paſſages: 'Ever ſince my differences with the court 'of Vienna were determined by the treaty of 'Breſlaw, the chief object of my attention has con- 'ſtantly been, not only carefully to cultivate, and, 'by all imaginable regards, to ſtrengthen the good 'underſtanding which I had juſt renewed with her 'majeſty the queen of Hungary, but alſo to re- 'vive the ſame between her and his imperial ma- 'jeſty; and, by a juſt and durable peace, to put 'a ſtop to the troubles, which their diſputes con- 'cerning the ſucceſſion of the late emperor Charles 'VI. had occaſioned; and of which the beſt pro-

[110] Memoirs of Frederick III. ut ſupra, p. 70—76.

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'vinces of the contending parties, as well as ſeve-
'ral ſtates of the empire that were neuter, had
'but too ſeverely felt the diſmal conſequences. I
'cannot but commend the readineſs which I
'met with in this reſpect from his imperial ma-
'jeſty. This prince, a true father of his country,
'rather than ſee it ſuffer for his intereſt's ſake,
'had already taken the generous reſolution to ſa-
'crifice all his pretenſions to the reſtoration of the
'public tranquility. But the court of Vienna
'ſhewed quite oppoſite diſpoſitions; it liſtened, with
'reluctance, to all propoſals towards an accommo-
'dation; and, from all its conduct, made it very
'plain, that it would accept of no other peace,
'but what would ſtill render it the arbiter of all
'Germany, and ſubject to it the rights and liberties
'of the Germanic body. Its vaſt and dangerous
'deſigns were diſplayed, by degrees, as the proſ-
'perity of its arms encreaſed, and ſeemed to make
'it ſure of ſucceſs; from that time it acted with-
'out any circumſpection; it inſulted, in the moſt
'outrageous manner, both the majeſty of the ſu-
'preme head of the empire, and the rights and
'prerogatives of the electoral college. It was in
'vain I warned that court, that neither I, nor any
'other prince of the empire, that had the preſer-
'vation of his country's conſtitution at heart, would
'ever ſuffer the head of it to be attacked in this
'manner; and that I could not, at leaſt, diſpenſe
'with fulfilling the previous obligations I was laid

'under,

'under, by the rank I held among the members 'of the Germanic body, and to which any other 'obligation and conſideration muſt needs yield. It 'was too much intoxicated with its vaſt deſigns, 'to give the leaſt attention to my amicable remon-'ſtrances.' CHAP. VII. A. D. 1744.

'Neither paſſion, nor any perſonal intereſt, nor 'any view of enlarging my dominions, or of mak-'ing conqueſts, have the leaſt ſhare in the reſolu-'tions I have taken; my only intention being to 'diſcharge the duty of a good patriot, and a faith-'ful member of the Germanic body; to maintain 'the dignity, and prevent the total ruin of its 'chief; to ſhelter the conſtitution, and liberty of 'the empire, againſt the impending danger that 'threatens it; and to reſtore and enſure its tran-'quility, by a juſt and durable peace, the ſolidity 'and durableneſs of which may give a new ſtrength 'to the ſtaggering liberties of Germany. And I 'hope that no judicious Engliſhman, nor any Bri-'ton that is zealous for his country, can poſſibly 'miſtake the equity of my reſolution, as he may 'ſufficiently convince himſelf of it, by barely tranſ-'porting on the theatre of England what now paſſes 'on that of Germany. As every true Engliſh pa-'triot would look with indignation on all ſuch in-'trigues as ſhould be carried on in his own coun-'try, towards making the now regnant family to 'deſcend from the throne, in order to eſtabliſh the 'pretender there, and would oppoſe all ſuch prac-

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'tices with all his power; much more, there is no 'patriot, or powerful prince of the empire, that 'can ſit with indifference, and coolly ſuffer another 'member of the empire, ſuch as is the queen of 'Hungary, to endeavour to ſpoil of his dignity 'and authority the emperor lawfully elected, in 'order to inveſt with that rank a candidate, deſ-'titute of the qualifications that are moſt eſſential 'to fill the imperial throne, and who can never aſ-'cend it, but by the total ſubverſion of the impe-'rial conſtitution, and of all the liberties, preroga-'tives, and privileges of its chief members. As 'in conſequence of the ſame principle, no German 'prince has any right to meddle with the inward 'policy of Great Britain, nor with the conſtitution 'of its government, I have ſome reaſon to hope, 'that the Engliſh nation will neither meddle with 'the domeſtic affairs of the empire, nor oppoſe 'the efforts which I, as well as the other ſtates well 'diſpoſed for the empire, are reſolved to make to-'wards preſerving and maintaining the dignity of 'the head, the reverence due to the laws and con-'ſtitution of our country, and the rights and pre-'rogatives of its members. And that I entertain 'theſe hopes the more, becauſe England has no 'reaſon to meddle with this quarrel, from any con-'ſideration of its commerce, or otherwiſe; and that, 'although it had a greater inclination for one Ger-'man court than for another, I think it too unrea-'ſonable to pretend, that ſuch powerful and reſpec-

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'table princes, as thoſe of the empire are, ſhould 'be obliged to regulate their conduct, agreeably 'to the inclinations of thoſe among the Engliſh, 'who ſtrive to make their countrymen enter into 'foreign quarrels, that are of no manner of con-'cern to England. The reſolution that I have 'taken, has nothing in common with the war that 'England is now engaged in with other powers, 'which I ſhall not meddle with to its prejudice. 'Nor will my preſent undertaking make any altera-'tion in the engagements that I have contracted with 'England; which I am ſteadfaſtly reſolved to fulfil, 'with all imaginable punctuality, ſo long as Eng-'land will not herſelf cut the ties thereof: and I 'ſhall pay, to the very laſt farthing, the debts of 'Sileſia, which I have taken upon me by the treaty 'of Breſlaw [121].'

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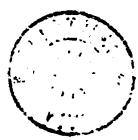
NOTWITHSTANDING the plauſible declarations made by the king of Pruſſia, in his public memorials, it is ſufficiently manifeſt, that concern for the emperor, or zeal for the preſervation of the Germanic conſtitution, were not the real motives of his taking up arms. But he ſeems to have been ſomewhat jealous of the progreſs of the Auſtrian arms, under prince Charles of Lorrain, who had not only driven the French out of Bavaria, but had paſſed the Rhine, and penetrated into the French dominions, making himſelf maſter of Haguenau and Saverne, and laying all the country of Lower

[121] Memoirs of Frederick III. ut ſupra, p. 64—70.

Alſace

CHAP. VII. A. D. 1744. Alſace under contribution. As the Auſtrian army were, however, employed at ſuch a diſtance, this ſeemed a favourable time for the invaſion of Bohemia; and Frederick alſo probably thought, that, at the preſent criſis, ſome opportunity might ariſe of enlarging his dominions, or at leaſt of extending his military fame. On the part of the court of Vienna, ſeveral memorials, declarations, and reſcripts, were likewiſe publiſhed; but the king of Pruſſia's manifeſtoes were drawn up with ſuch ſuperior art and dexterity, that, as public papers, they had much more effect than thoſe of the queen of Hungary.



CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Frederick puts himſelf at the head of his troops, and marches into Bohemia.—The extraordinary proclamation publiſhed by him in that country.—Makes himſelf maſter of the city of Prague, and of ſome other towns and fortreſſes.—A ſtop put to the progreſs of his arms by prince Charles of Lorrain.—Frederick is obliged to abandon Prague, and his other conqueſts, and to retreat precipitately into Sileſia, and from thence to Berlin, with great loſs.—Death of the emperor.—The king of Pruſſia returns again to Sileſia, at the head of ſeventy thouſand men.—Battle of Hohen Friedberg, in which Frederick gains a compleat victory over prince Charles of Lorrain.

THE manifeſtoes and reſcripts of the king of Pruſſia were followed, according to his uſual cuſtom, with a very rapid movement of his troops, at the head of eighty thouſand of which, before the cloſe of the month of Auguſt, he paſſed through the electorate of Saxony, and entered the kingdom of Bohemia. In that country he iſſued a proclamation, of which it is impoſſible for an impartial hiſtorian to ſpeak in any other terms, than thoſe of cenſure and of indignation. In this piece it was declared, that the emperor 'being diſpoſſeſſed of 'his dominions, and deprived of all authority, the 'king

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'king of Pruſſia could no longer defer doing what 'his imperial majeſty deſired, and what became 'him to do, in virtue of his obligations to the em- 'peror and empire, as one of its principal ſtates 'and electors. In conſequence of this, and from 'views equally upright, and worthy of his love to 'his country, his Pruſſian majeſty had granted a 'part of his forces to the head of the empire, un- 'der the title of *auxiliaries*, with a view, as well 'to reſtore the authority and dignity of the impe- 'rial office, abſolutely oppreſſed for the preſent, as 'to re-eſtabliſh peace and general tranquility through- 'out all Germany, our dear country.' The inhabitants of Bohemia are afterwards exhorted 'not 'to make any reſiſtance, or to oppoſe the leaſt ob- 'ſtacle againſt the ſaid auxiliary troops, or their 'undertakings; but to remain quiet, and at peace, 'in their reſpective dwellings. In which caſe, they 'might promiſe to themſelves protection and ſe- 'curity; and be aſſured, that they ſhould not only 'be ſafe from any ſoldiers entering into, or diſturb- 'ing them in their eſtates, but alſo, that the ſaid 'auxiliary troops ſhould obſerve the ſtricteſt and moſt 'rigorous diſcipline; and that whatever they fur- 'niſhed them with, towards their ſubſiſtence, or 'the ſupply of their neceſſities, in any reſpect, 'ſhould fairly be deducted out of the CONTRIBU- 'TIONS they ought to pay, or OTHERWISE ACCOUNT- 'ED FOR to the ſtates and ſubjects of Bohemia. 'But if, on the other hand, any of the ſaid vaſſals,

'inha-

'inhabitants or ſubjects of the kingdom of Bohe- CHAP. VIII. A. D. 1744.
'mia, ſhould be ſo ill adviſed, as to commit any
'acts of hoſtility againſt the ſaid imperial auxiliary
'troops, in any manner, or on any pretext what-
'ſoever, fire and ſword would be employed, with-
'out the leaſt pity, in puniſhing the guilty. And
'to take away, before hand, all occaſion for the
'committing ſuch hoſtilities, it was by theſe letters
'patent ſtrictly enjoined, to all and every one of
'the peaſants and inhabitants of the country of Bo-
'hemia, that whatever arms they ſhould have in
'their poſſeſſion, whether their own, or not, they
'ſhould, without any exception, and without the
'leaſt delay, carry them to the lords from whom
'they held their lands, or to the magiſtrates neareſt
'the place of their abode; ſo that the ſaid lord or
'magiſtrate might, as it was expected he ſhould,
'become ſecurity for their good behaviour. And,
'in conformity to this proclamation, if, after the
'publication of it, any inhabitant of the country,
'or peaſant, ſhould be found with arms, either
'upon him, or in his cuſtody, he ſhould be hanged
'without farther inquiry, and without remiſſion;
'and the moſt rigorous proceedings ſhould be had
'againſt the lord, or magiſtrate of the place, in
'order to puniſh any negligence, or connivance in
'them; or, if the circumſtances of the caſe de-
'ſerved it, the whole village ſhould be pillaged,
'and reduced to aſhes [122].' This arbitrary and ini-

[122] Gentleman's Mag. vol. XIV. p. 499.

quitous

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quitous proclamation, which appeared to be dictated only by a ſpirit of military tyranny, and by which every Bohemian peaſant who ſhould keep arms in his own houſe, for the defence of himſelf, his family, or his country, was ſentenced by a foreign prince to be hanged, was dated at Peterſwald, the 25th of Auguſt, 1744.

ON the ſecond of September following, Frederick arrived before Prague; and, though his artillery was not come, attacked and took ſome advanced poſts. On the 7th of the month, general count de Hacke, who commanded the Pruſſian artillery, was unexpectedly attacked by a detachment of Auſtrians, who beat the convoy, and were carrying off the artillery. At this critical period, the king of Pruſſia himſelf came up with the third part of his army, when the Auſtrians were compelled to relinquiſh their important capture. Frederick then cut off all communication between the town and the army under count Bathiani; and, after a ſharp engagement, made himſelf maſter of ſome redoubts and baſtions, which had been erected in the laſt ſiege of Prague by the French. The Pruſſian bombs having deſtroyed almoſt the old and new towns, together with the Jews town, the commandant, at the intreaty of the nobility and clergy, and from want of artillery, was obliged to ſurrender the city to the king of Pruſſia, on the 16th of the month; and the whole garriſon, conſiſting of 14,500 men, were made priſoners of war. Prince

Fre-

Frederick William, couſin german to the king, was killed by his ſide. The Pruſſian monarch himſelf commanded at one of the four attacks, which he directed to be made all at once; and, to reward a grenadier, who firſt mounted a baſtion at mareſchal Schwerin's attack, and defended himſelf with his ſword only till his companions came up, he ordered him to be placed at the mareſchal's table in his grenadier's habit, and ennobled him by patent. He alſo promoted him to the rank of a lieutenant, together with twelve other private men, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves on the occaſion [123]. CHAP. VIII. A. D. 1744.

FREDERICK left a garriſon of ſix thouſand men in Prague, with a large train of artillery; and the Pruſſian ſoldiers are ſaid to have been ordered to lie in the ſtreets, before the houſes of the burghers, who were forbidden, on pain of death, to ſtir out at night [124]. The king then marched ſouthward up the Moldaw to Tabor, from whence he ſent out detachments under lieutenant-general Naſſau, who, after ſome ſkirmiſhes, took the towns of Budweis and Teyn, together with the ſtrong caſtle of Frauenburg, the garriſon of which were made priſoners of war. A large body of Pruſſian troops was alſo ſent into Moravia, where they are repreſented as having been guilty of great barbarities [125].

[123] Memoirs of Frederick III. p. 77, 78. Johnſon's Memoirs of the King of Pruſſia, p. 133, 134. Gent. Mag. vol. XIV. p. 500, 501.

[124] Gent. Mag. and Johnſon, ut ſupra.

[125] Gent. Mag. vol. XIV. p. 621.

BUT

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BUT a ſtop was ſoon put to the progreſs of the Pruſſian arms, by the courage, conduct, and activity, of prince CHARLES of LORRAIN. That able general, on receiving information of the invaſion of Bohemia, by the king of Pruſſia, repaſſed the Rhine in the face of the French army, which was commanded by the mareſchals de Coigni, Noailles, and Belleiſle [x]. He then marched to the Danube, laid the Upper Palatinate under contribution, and entering Bohemia, joined the Auſtrian troops under count Bathiani at Merotitz. It was alſo a circumſtance very diſadvantageous to the king of Pruſſia, that the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, now declared himſelf an auxiliary to the queen of Hungary. The Poliſh monarch had for ſome time paſt conſidered his electoral dominions as very inſecure, near ſo enterprizing and ambitious a neighbour as the king of Pruſſia; and he had entered into a convention for the mutual

[x] The king of Pruſſia was exceedingly diſſatisfied with the conduct of the French on this occaſion. Accordingly we are told by one writer, that Frederick 'complained grievouſly, of 'an enemy being ſuffered to eſcape to come upon him. In fact, 'prince Charles ſeemed to have wings; and though he did not 'arrive time enough to prevent that monarch from taking Prague, 'on the 15th of September, yet he contrived, by his movements 'and marches, to oblige him to withdraw his garriſon, on the '27th of November. The king of Pruſſia was, therefore, only 'maſter of this capital for two months; the French had kept it 'thirteen; and prince Charles was twice its deliverer.' Private Life of Lewis XV. vol. II. p. 205.

guarantee

guarantee of Saxony, Bohemia, and Auſtria, with her Hungarian majeſty. He was alſo greatly and juſtly exaſperated at the liberty which Frederick had taken, of marching his troops through his electoral dominions without his permiſſion. He repreſented by his miniſter, that the march of the Pruſſian troops through Saxony, taken by force, was againſt the conſtitution of the empire; and that as the ſame troops might have taken a quite different route, through his Pruſſian majeſty's own dominions, their forcible march through Saxony might properly be conſidered as a violation of territory, and an act of hoſtility. And he now reinforced the army of prince Charles of Lorrain with twenty thouſand Saxon troops, as auxiliaries, under the command of the duke of Saxe-Weiſſenfels, on whom the king of Great Britain ſoon after conferred the order of the garter.

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By the addition of theſe auxiliaries, and of the troops under Bathiani, the army of prince Charles became ſuperior to that of the king of Pruſſia. Frederick was, therefore, obliged to abandon Prague, and the other places of which he had taken poſſeſſion in Bohemia, and to retreat with precipitation into Sileſia. In his retreat he is ſtated to have loſt above thirty thouſand men, together with moſt of his heavy baggage and artillery, and many waggons laden with proviſions and plunder [216].

[216] Hiſt. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 111.

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Frederick at length returned to Berlin, extremely mortified with the termination of the campaign; of which he is ſaid to have forbidden all perſons in that city to ſpeak either ill or well [127]. In his "Military Inſtructions for the Generals of his "army," he ſays, 'I do not mean to juſtify thoſe 'generals who have made flagrant miſtakes; I 'will not vindicate my own campaign in 1744; 'yet, among many faults, the ſiege of Prague, 'my retreat and defence of Kolin, and alſo my re-'treat into Sileſia, were tolerably conducted. But 'there are many unfortunate events, which no 'human ſkill or foreſight can poſſibly prevent [128].'

Soon after the return of the king of Pruſſia to his capital, Charles VII. emperor of Germany, died at Munich, on the 20th of January, 1745, in the forty-eighth year of his age [Y]. This event made

[127] Johnſon's Memoirs, ut ſupra, p. 136. Gent. Mag. vol. XIV. p. 678.

[128] King of Pruſſia's Military Inſtructions for his Generals, p. 152.

[Y] Voltaire ſays, that the Emperor left 'this leſſon to the 'world, that the ſummit of human grandeur may be the pinnacle 'of calamity.—A complication of painful diſorders rendered 'his misfortunes more violent by his corporeal ſufferings, and 'they jointly carried him to the grave. He was afflicted with 'the gout and ſtone: his liver, lungs, and ſtomach, were found 'gangrened; alſo ſtones in his kidnies, and a polypus in his 'heart; ſo that it was imagined he could not have enjoyed a 'moment's eaſe for ſome time paſt. Few princes had better 'qualities. They ſerved only to heighten his unhappineſs; and 'this

made a great change in the ſituation of affairs in the empire. The grand duke of Tuſcany, huſband to the queen of Hungary, was immediately declared a candidate for the imperial throne: but his pretenſions were warmly oppoſed by the French king and his allies. The court of Vienna, however, taking advantage of the emperor's death, ſent an army to invade Bavaria in the month of March, under the conduct of general Bathiani, who defeated the French and Palatine troops at Pfiffenhoven, and drove the Bavarian forces out of the electorate. The young elector, Maximilian Joſeph, ſon to the late emperor, and who was only ſeventeen years of age, was obliged to abandon his capital, and retire to Augſburgh, where he found himſelf in danger of loſing all his dominions. In this emergency, he yielded to the earneſt ſolicitations of the empreſs his mother, enforced by the advice of his uncle, the elector of Cologn, and of his general, count Seckendorff, who exhorted him

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'this unhappineſs aroſe from his having taken upon himſelf a 'burthen he was unable to bear. The body of this unfortunate 'prince was expoſed, dreſſed in the antient Spaniſh faſhion; an 'etiquette eſtabliſhed by Charles V. although ſince him no 'emperor has been a Spaniard, nor had Charles V. any con-'nexion with that nation. He was interred according to the 'ceremonies of the empire; and in this parade of human vanity 'and miſery, they carried the globe of the world in proceſſion 'before him, who, during the ſhort courſe of his reign, could 'not keep poſſeſſion even of one ſmall unfortunate province.' Age of Lewis XV. ch. 14.

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to be reconciled to the court of Vienna. A negociation was immediately entered into at Fuessen, and speedily concluded. The queen of Hungary consented to recognize the imperial dignity, as having been vested in the person of his father; to acknowledge his mother as empress-dowager; and to restore his dominions, with all the fortresses, artillery, stores, and ammunition, which she had taken. On the other hand, he renounced all claim to the succession of her father, became guarantee of the pragmatic sanction, and engaged to give his vote for the grand duke, at the ensuing election of a king of the Romans, and to dismiss the auxiliary troops in his service [129].

In the mean time, the king of Prussia did not long remain inactive at Berlin. His troops, at the beginning of the year, under the command of different generals, had obtained some considerable advantages over the Austrians. In February, general Lehwald had defeated a body of twelve thousand Austrians, commanded by general Helsrich; and the same month the town of Ratibor, in Silesia, in which the Austrians had posted three thousand men, was taken by assault. The Prussians also, under the prince of Anhalt Dessau, obliged the Hungarians to abandon Trappau, Jagerdorf, and other places which they had taken, and to retire into Moravia. Frederick himself entered Silesia in May, at the head of seventy thousand men; and

[129] Smollet, ut supra, p. 134, 135.

received

received information, that prince Charles of Lorrain, and the duke of Saxe-Weiſſenfels, were alſo about to enter Sileſia, at the head of eighty thouſand, among whom was a body of Saxon auxiliaries. He now, therefore, made no detachments from his army, but abandoned Upper Sileſia to be pillaged by the Hungarians, that he might be able the more effectually to oppoſe the deſigns of prince Charles. It was the intention of that general to penetrate into Sileſia through the narrow paſſes of the mountains near Landſhut; and the deſign of Frederick was, to let the Auſtrians file through the paſſes of thoſe mountains without diſturbance, and then to attack them unexpectedly, and force them to a deciſive action. But, in order to deceive prince Charles, and to lead him to ſuppoſe that he was unwilling to engage, he cauſed the road to be repaired, as if he had intended to march in four columns towards Breſlaw, upon the approach of the Auſtrians [110]. With the ſame view, he alſo abandoned all the poſts and intrenchments of which he was poſſeſſed, in the mountains that ſeparate Sileſia from Bohemia. Prince Charles being thus deceived, and imagining that he might enter Sileſia without moleſtation, prepared to march through the defiles into the plains near Striegau. But on the firſt of June, the king of Pruſſia moved his camp from the neighbourhood of Reichenback,

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[110] Military Inſtructions of the King of Pruſſia for his Generals, p. 61.

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and pitched it between Striegau and Schweidnitz, having his left covered by that village, and his right by the village of Jauernick, where he eſtabliſhed his head quarters. The van guard, conſiſting of ſeven battalions of grenadiers, ten ſquadrons of dragoons, and two thouſand huſſars, under the command of lieutenant-general du Moulin, and the major-generals Stille and Winterfeld, encamped near Striegau, in a line along the highway, with their left wing extended towards the village of Stanowitz. Lieutenant-general Naſſau, with five battalions, ten ſquadrons of Bareith dragoons, and the regiment of Ziethen huſſars, took poſt between the army and the van guard, at the village of Zedlitz, occupying at the ſame time a wood, in order to keep the Auſtrian light troops from approaching the Pruſſian camps, either to interrupt their communication with one another, or to obſerve their motions. The front of the two Pruſſian camps, that is, of the van guard and of the main army, was for the moſt part covered with eminences, on which their advanced guards were poſted: which procured them the double advantage, of not being overlooked by the enemy, and at the ſame time of ſeeing as far as the feet of the mountains, and even through their openings, the ſmalleſt motion that could be made by the Auſtrians. As the eminence in the front of the van guard was the higheſt, and the moſt proper for making obſervations, the king repaired to it two or three times a day,

day, that he might view, with his own eyes, whatever happened [131]. CHAP. VIII. A. D. 1745.

On the second of the month, several separate bodies of the Austrians were seen marching along the ridge of the mountains, on the side next Hohen Friedberg; and towards evening, a body of between six and seven thousand men encamped near the castle of Furstenstein, the rest towards Quolsdorf, and behind Hohen Friedberg, but so concealed among the mountains, that the Prussians could only perceive part of the Austrian tents through the openings. The next morning, they appeared to be in the same position; but Frederick going, as usual, to examine every thing himself, observed that the Austrian soldiers were then employed in cooking, and from their being engaged in that manner so early [z], he suspected that they would descend from the mountains that day. He ordered his troops, therefore, to be extremely vigilant, and to acquaint him with the smallest movement made by the Austrians; and every thing was prepared for vigorously attacking them when they should come down into the plains.

[131] King of Prussia's campaigns, ut supra, p. 125, 126.

[z] In his Military Instructions to his Generals, Frederick says, 'When the Austrians are encamped, it is not 'difficult to discover their design to march; for it is their 'general custom to *cook their kettles* on that day particularly. If, 'therefore, you perceive, at five or eight o'clock in the morning, more smoke than ordinary in their camp, you may be 'pretty certain they intend to move.' P. 72.

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It soon appeared, that Frederick was right in his conjectures respecting the intentions of the Austrians. In the afternoon they were seen advancing, in large columns of horse and foot, into the plains of Friedberg and Ronstock. The king, therefore, ordered the main body of his troops to march at eight in the evening to Striegau, and commanded general du Moulin to take post, with his ten squadrons and seven battalions, upon the adjacent hills. These orders were punctually executed; and the Prussian troops arrived at midnight at the posts assigned, without noise, and without lights [119].

At two the next morning, which was the fourth of June, 1745, the king assembled all the general officers, and settled the arrangements for the battle. In less than an hour after, the first division of the Austrian army, which consisted partly of Saxon troops, commanded by the duke of Saxe-Weissenfels, began to come out of the defiles into the plains, near HOHEN FRIEDBERG, and had scarcely advanced fifty paces, when they saw the whole Prussian army drawn up in battle-array, and advantageously posted with all its artillery. The action was commenced by prince Leopold, of Anhalt Dessau, who attacked first the Saxon infantry in a marshy wood, with great bravery. The Saxons made vigorous efforts in their own defence, but were not able to form,

[119] Memoirs of Frederick III. p. 81. Gent. Mag. vol. XV. 297, 298.

much

much less to extend themselves, or to break in upon the Prussians, on account of the extreme inconveniency of the ground they fought upon, where they were exposed on every side to the fire of the Prussian cannon [333]. The duke of Saxe-Weissenfels charged himself, several times, at the head of the Austrian cavalry, but was not able to make any impression upon the Prussians. The Saxons then formed a triangle of infantry, in order to make a good retreat; but lieutenant-general Rottenburg, at the head of the prince of Prussia's regiment of cuirassiers, cut in pieces the regiment of Schonberg. Lieutenant-colonel Juschinski, and major Frideville, also put two troops of Saxon grenadiers to the sword. The triangle was then broken, and the Saxons totally defeated [334]. The behaviour of the Prussian troops on this occasion was extremely sanguinary, they fought with great inveteracy, and gave hardly any quarter to the Saxons.

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When the main body of the Austrians had issued from the defiles, and formed themselves in the plains in the best manner they were able, they were attacked with great vigour by the king and the margrave Charles. The Prussian infantry repeatedly attacked with their bayonets screwed, and the cavalry often threw themselves upon the adverse

[333] London Magazine, for the year 1745, p. 381.

[334] Memoirs of Frederick III. p. 82, 83. Gent. Mag. ut supra, from the account published at Berlin, by authority.

battalions,

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battalions, though the Auſtrians made a prodigious fire. Ten ſquadrons of Bareith dragoons broke through ſeven regiments of infantry belonging to Thungen's Auſtrian brigade, totally routed them, and took more than two thouſand priſoners, with ſixty-ſix pair of colours, and all their cannon [135]. M. Thungen, commandant of the brigade, was killed in the action. The fire of the Pruſſian infantry never ceaſed a moment, till nine o'clock in the morning, when the action had continued near ſeven hours, and when the whole combined army of Auſtrians and Saxons was entirely defeated, and obliged to retreat through the paſſes of the mountains from which they had iſſued. Their retreat, however, was conducted in an able and ſkilful manner by prince Charles and the duke of Saxe-Weiſſenfels; though the victory obtained by the Pruſſian monarch was great and indiſputable.

THE Auſtrians and Saxons left more than four thouſand men killed and wounded upon the field of battle, and upwards of five thouſand were made priſoners. Among the killed was prince Chriſtian William of Saxe Gotha, who was a major-general, and whoſe body was afterwards interred in the Lutheran church at Striegau. Several other general officers were among the killed and wounded; and of the priſoners more than one hundred and fifty were officers. The trophies taken were ſeven ſtand-

[135] King of Pruſſia's Campaigns, p. 134.

ards,

ards, seventy-six pair of colours, and eight pair of kettle-drums; together with sixty-six pieces of cannon, and forty ammunition waggons. The loss of the Prussians amounted to sixteen hundred killed and wounded; and among the former was lieutenant-general count Trouchses, who was killed by a cannon ball at the beginning of the engagement, and for whose death the king expressed great concern [A]. CHAP. VIII. A. D. 1745.

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[A] Of this general, who seems to have been one of Frederick's favourites before his accession, some particulars are related by Bielfeld. He says of him, 'This gentleman is tall, 'and well made, and commands our esteem by his birth, his 'figure, his noble air, and by the charms of a most agreeable 'conversation.'—'There is something in the conversation of 'count TROUCHSES, which appears to me so sprightly, that it 'too frequently makes that of others seem dull. It is judici-'ously seasoned with a proper quantity of Attic salt, and always 'accompanied with the court air.' The count had erected at Berlin a house of a very singular construction, which Bielfeld describes, but which had cost the count so much money, as in some degree to embarrass his circumstances.

On the accession of Frederick III. count Trouchses was sent as his ambassador to George II. king of Great Britain, and Bielfeld accompanied him as secretary of legation. As his Britannick majesty was then at Hanover, count Trouchses repaired to him at the court of Herrenhausen. The king and that court, as well as the ambassador and his train, were then in mourning for Frederick William. Of their reception the following account is given by Bielfeld: 'We were conducted into an anti-'chamber, where we found the whole court assembled, and in 'a mourning almost as deep as our own. Count Trouchses 'wore a peruke of an immense size, and a cloak that trailed some

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THE conduct of the king of Pruſſia, as a general, both before, and on the day of this memorable action, was entitled to the higheſt commendation. The ſituation of affairs, with regard to his own forces, as well as to thoſe of the enemy, required ſome deciſive action. In order to bring matters to this iſſue, he had very artfully and completely deceived prince Charles with reſpect to his real intentions. He had pretended to be afraid of the ſuperiority of the combined army of Auſtrians

'ſome yards behind him, which gave to his figure, of ſix feet 'high, a very ſingular appearance. In about a quarter of an 'hour, lord Harrington came to introduce us to the audience. 'The doors of the hall were thrown open, and the king of 'Great Britain appeared in all his glory. He was dreſſed in 'purple, and adorned with his grand order of the garter. Count 'Trouchſes preſented his credentials with a good deal of grace, 'and with an air of dignity; but he had not time to make a 'long harangue; for the king interrupted and anſwered him 'with the greateſt goodneſs; and afterwards talked to him with 'an air of cordiality, that delighted every one who beheld him. 'His majeſty could not ſufficiently admire his grave and ſolemn 'appearance, and ſaid to him in a low voice, with a ſmile, "Count Trouchſes, one would imagine by your appearance, "that you were in deſpair for the loſs of your late maſter." 'We were all of us afterwards preſented to his majeſty, who 'ſaid to each of us ſomething gracious and condeſcending.' Count Trouchſes afterwards returned to Berlin; but, at the beginning of the year 1741, went to London as ambaſſador from the Pruſſian monarch to his Britannick majeſty, and was again accompanied by M. Dieſfeld. About the middle of that year, the count was recalled from his embaſſy, to join the army in Silеſia.

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and Saxons; and had cauſed a report to be ſpread, that he ſhould not wait for it in the neighbourhood of Schweidnitz, but ſhould take a ſure poſt between Breſlaw and Glogau on the river Oder, for the convenience of his convoys. In conformity to theſe affected appearances, he had cauſed the mountains of Upper Sileſia and the country of Glatz to be evacuated, aſſembled all his different corps, and kept himſelf cloſely covered in his camp between Schweidnitz and Striegau, uſing all imaginable precautions to conceal from the enemy his real deſigns, and the number of his troops; being fully perſuaded, that if prince Charles would but come down into the plains, it would be in his power to force him to a battle. The event proved the wiſdom of Frederick's meaſures; in the battle he diſplayed the higheſt military ſkill, and equal bravery; and having now driven his enemies out of Sileſia, he entered the kingdom of Bohemia. CHAP. VIII. A. D. 1745.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

The king of Pruſſia encamps his army in Bohemia.—Negociations entered into by him, and repreſentations made by his miniſters at foreign courts.—The grand duke of Tuſcany elected emperor, and crowned at Franckfort.—Battle of Sohr.—Frederick returns to Berlin.—Sets out again from that city, and puts himſelf at the head of his troops in Sileſia.—Action at Hennerſdorff.—The king makes himſelf maſter of Gorlitz.—The Auſtrians retreat before him into Bohemia.—The city of Leipſic ſurrenders to the prince of Anhalt Deſſau.—Other towns in Saxony taken poſſeſſion of by that prince.—He defeats the Saxons and Auſtrians at Keſſeldorff.—The city of Dreſden ſurrenders to the king of Pruſſia.—Peace concluded in that capital.—Frederick returns in triumph to Berlin.

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THOUGH the Auſtrians and Saxons, under prince Charles of Lorrain and the duke of Saxe-Weiſſenfels, had been completely defeated at the battle of Hohen Friedberg, yet after they had returned into Bohemia, when the Auſtrians had re-aſſembled their ſcattered troops, and obtained ſome reinforcements, they were ſtill poſſeſſed of a very conſiderable force. They had alſo the advantage of having the inhabitants of the country entirely in their favour, and extremely hoſtile to the Pruſſians,

ſians. Frederick ſtrongly encamped his army within leſs than a league of the town of Trautenau; and during his ſtay there nearly exhauſted the neighbouring country of forage and proviſions [136]. In the months of July and Auguſt, there were many ſkirmiſhes between parties of the Auſtrians and Pruſſians, but no action of any conſequence.

AT the ſame time that the king of Pruſſia was exciting the utmoſt alarm in Germany, by the activity of his arms, his ambaſſadors were alſo employed in negociations in the different courts of Europe, and in exhibiting complaints againſt the powers with whom he was in a ſtate of hoſtility. Before the battle of Hohen Friedberg, and the junction of the Saxons with the Auſtrians, he had cauſed his miniſter at the Hague, count Podewills, to make a declaration, That the king his maſter having been informed, that the Saxons were going to join the Auſtrians, in order to invade Sileſia in concert, his majeſty had directed his miniſter at Dreſden to repreſent to count Beſtuchef, envoy from Ruſſia, that in caſe the Saxon troops, ceaſing to be auxiliaries of the queen of Hungary, ſhould commit direct hoſtilities againſt his Pruſſian majeſty, he could look upon that ſtep in no other light, than that of an open rupture; and that, on his ſide, he ſhould commit hoſtilities againſt the Saxons, and ſhould moreover demand of Ruſſia the ſuccours ſtipulated by treaties. This declaration being com-

[136] King of Pruſſia's Campaigns, p. 146.

municated

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municated to the king of Poland by the Ruſſian miniſter, his Poliſh majeſty anſwered, that he had aſſiſted the queen of Hungary no otherwiſe, than he was obliged to do by former treaties; that he ſhould continue to aſſiſt her in the ſame manner; and that, therefore, he looked upon this as a declaration of war, and ſhould ſend, on his part, to demand of Ruſſia the ſuccours ſtipulated by treaties [117]. On the 8th of January, 1745, a treaty of quadruple alliance had been concluded at Warſaw, between his Britannick majeſty, the king of Poland, as elector of Saxony, the queen of Hungary, and the States-general; by which they guaranteed to each other their ſeveral poſſeſſions [B]. But in Auguſt,

[117] London Mag. for the year 1745, p. 207.

[B] By the treaty of Warſaw, the contracting parties engaged to concert the moſt effectual meaſures for reſtoring the peace of Europe, particularly of the empire, and to aſſiſt one another in preſerving all ſuch dominions as they were reſpectively poſſeſſed of, or to which they had a right. His Poliſh majeſty, as elector of Saxony, confirmed and renewed the guaranty of the pragmatic ſanction, and promiſed to ſupport it with all his forces. If the kingdom of Bohemia ſhould be actually attacked, his Poliſh majeſty was immediately to act with an army of thirty thouſand auxiliary troops for its defence. As ſoon as Bohemia and Saxony ſhould be out of danger, his Poliſh majeſty was to march ten thouſand men into the Netherlands, or any other place within the empire, that the king of Great Britain and the States-general ſhould think proper, for which ſubſidies were to be paid to his Poliſh majeſty, by the king of Great Britain and the States-general. In caſe the king of Poland ſhould, in conſequence

Auguſt, the ſame year, the king of Great Britain, who was extremely anxious for the ſecurity of his electoral dominions, ſigned a convention with the king of Pruſſia, and became guarantee of his Pruſſian majeſty's poſſeſſions, as yielded by the treaty of Breſlaw. Frederick afterwards repreſented to the States-general, by M. Ammon, then his reſident at the Hague, that the courts of Vienna and Dreſden had employed all ſorts of means to raiſe up enemies againſt him; that though he had made no attempt upon the electoral dominions of his Poliſh majeſty, as he had a right to do, and might have ſucceſsfully done, the king of Poland had nevertheleſs called for ſuccours from the empreſs of Ruſſia, for the defence of his unattacked dominions, and though he was ſure they would not be attacked. It appeared, it was added, that theſe ſuccours were rather deſtined to act offenſively againſt the king of Pruſſia, than for a ſimple defence; and, therefore, that his Pruſſian majeſty could not diſpenſe with himſelf from demanding of their high mightineſſes thoſe ſuccours which were ſtipulated by treaty. The Pruſſian miniſter ſaid farther, that the king his maſter expected from their high mightineſſes juſtice and equity, and fidelity in the performance of their engagements; and that they would CHAP. IX. A. D. 1745.

ſequence of theſe meaſures, draw upon himſelf a war, he was to be ſupported therein by his allies; and no peace was to be made without his conſent, or without obtaining for him proper ſatisfaction. *Gent. Mag.* vol. XV. p. 167.

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not delay granting him the ſuccours he required, nor omit repreſenting to the Ruſſian court the obligations they were under to aſſiſt the king of Pruſſia, and the miſchiefs and inconveniences that might ariſe from the empreſs's aſſiſting the court of Dreſden [138].

ON the ſecond of September, 1745, the grand duke of Tuſcany was elected king of the Romans, and emperor of Germany. The king of Pruſſia, by his ambaſſadors, declared the election to be void. The elector palatine, whoſe countries had been ravaged by the Auſtrian armies, entered a proteſt to the ſame purport. The electoral ambaſſadors of theſe two princes retired from Franckfort; but this was not ſufficient to invalidate the election, becauſe it was ſettled by the golden bull, "That if the "electors, or their ambaſſadors, ſhould retire from "the place of election, before the king of the Ro- "mans, the future emperor, was elected, they "ſhould be deprived of their right of ſuffrage for "that time, as being judged to have abandoned "it." Before the end of the month, the new emperor was crowned at Franckfort; and Voltaire obſerves, that the queen of Hungary, now empreſs, came to that city 'to enjoy her triumph, the co- 'ronation of her huſband. She ſaw, from a bal- 'cony, the ceremony of the entry, and was the firſt 'that cried out, LONG LIVE THE EMPEROR! and 'all the people anſwered with acclamations of joy

[138] London Mag. for the year 1745, p. 553.

'and affection. This was the happieſt day of her 'life. She afterwards went to ſee her army, ranged 'in order of battle near Heidelberg, to the number 'of ſixty thouſand men. The emperor, her ſpouſe, 'received her ſword in hand, at the head of the 'army. She paſſed between the lines, ſaluted every 'body, dined under a tent, and ordered a florin 'to be diſtributed to every ſoldier [139].'

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In the ſame month, in which the coronation of the emperor took place, another battle was fought between the king of Pruſſia and prince Charles of Lorrain. On the twenty-ninth of September, the Auſtrian army made a forced march, in order to ſurprize and attack Frederick, in his camp near the village of SOHR, in the neighbourhood of Trautenau. Prince Charles was the rather induced to make this attempt, becauſe his army was now much ſuperior in number to that of the king of Pruſſia. Frederick had received ſome intimation of the prince's deſign, and was, therefore, about to change the poſition of his camp. Orders were given for that purpoſe on the morning of the thirtieth, and the army was to decamp at ten o'clock. The generals of the day, who attended to receive theſe orders, were but juſt gone out of the king's tent to make the neceſſary diſpoſitions, when the advanced guards of the right wing ſent notice, that they perceived a large body of cavalry, and ſome infantry, on the hills of Deutſch Prauſnitz. This

[139] Age of Lewis XV. ch. 17.

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news was ſoon confirmed; and it was added, that the whole Auſtrian army was advancing in ſeveral columns [140].

As Frederick now no longer doubted of the approach of the Auſtrians, he ordered the drums to beat, and the trumpets to ſound to arms. The right wing of the cavalry, and particularly the Pruſſian gens d'arms, were the firſt ready to march out of the camp, though the enemy endeavoured to hinder them by their artillery, the ſhot of which reached the Pruſſian camp. The Pruſſian cavalry were, indeed, compelled to make haſte, by a furious fire of great guns and haubitzers. When they were on horſeback, they marched to the right, and were followed by the infantry, forming a kind of ſemicircle, the convex ſide of which was towards the enemy, that they might not expoſe their flank. Having then taken poſſeſſion of the ground moſt proper for the attack, their cavalry formed; and though the ground was narrow and uneven, and the eminence, on which the Auſtrian army ſtood, very ſteep, yet fifteen Pruſſian ſquadrons, under the command of the major-generals Goltz and Katzlar, advanced, received the whole fire of the artillery, and ruſhed in full career upon the ſquadrons of the enemy, of which there were fifty-five in this wing, drawn up in three lines. Notwithſtanding the inferiority in number of the Pruſſian cavalry, they fell ſo furiouſly upon the firſt line of the Auſtrian horſe,

[140] King of Pruſſia's Campaigns, p. 147, 148.

that

that they overthrew them at the firſt onſet, and purſued them with ſo much vigour, as to put the ſecond and third line into the ſame confuſion, and at length completely routed them [141]. CHAP. IX. A. D. 1745.

Among other great exertions of Pruſſian valour, three battalions of grenadiers had the intrepidity to attack the Auſtrian park of artillery, though guarded by fifteen companies of grenadiers, ſupported by the Saxon infantry. The Pruſſians loſt many men in this attack, and were twice repulſed; but being ſeaſonably reinforced by the regiments of La Motte and Blanekenſee infantry, they made themſelves maſters of the Auſtrian park of artillery at the third attack, and alſo took their firſt line in flank. After this the whole Auſtrian left wing was driven off the eminence, and the front of the two armies inſenſibly engaged. The center and left wing of the Pruſſians, of which Frederick had hitherto made no uſe, that he might be ſure of a reſource, in caſe his right wing ſhould be repulſed, advanced gradually through the neighbourhood of Burckerſdorff; but found every where an obſtinate enemy, reſolved to diſpute every inch of ground. As the Auſtrians had the advantage of the ground, and alſo in the number of men; the Pruſſians, at every eminence, and every little wood, found freſh troops to encounter, who had not been engaged before, and whoſe fire was always ready. Notwithſtanding

[141] King of Pruſſia's Campaigns, p. 149, 150.

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theſe accumulated difficulties, the Pruſſian ſoldiers, fighting under the eye of their king, inſtead of being diſcouraged, redoubled their efforts. With great gallantry they climbed up the hills, through ſhowers of bullets and cannon balls, cleared one wood after another, and advanced with ſuch rapidity, that they were ſoon ready to fall upon the battalions of the enemy with their bayonets [142]. But the Auſtrians now began to give way, and to retreat with precipitation towards the wood of Kænigſreich, and many of them made their eſcape through the defiles beyond the village of SOHR. The defeat of the Auſtrians was ſomewhat facilitated by the behaviour of their irregular troops, who had orders to attack the Pruſſian army in the rear, but being more ſolicitous for plunder than for victory, they delayed executing their orders till it was too late. They carried off, however, the king's baggage, including his military cheſt, together with his ſecretary, and other ſervants, and all the papers of his cabinet. Excepting this loſs, the victory was compleat; the Auſtrians were obliged to retreat two leagues from the field of battle; five thouſand of them were left killed and wounded, and two thouſand taken priſoners; and the Pruſſians alſo took many ſtandards, and twenty pieces of cannon. Of the Pruſſians about ſix hundred were killed, and two thouſand wounded. Among the killed was

[142] King of Pruſſia's Campaigns, p. 151.

prince

prince Albert of Brunſwick, brother to the queen of Pruſſia. CHAP. IX. A. D. 1745.

THOUGH this attack of prince Charles of Lorrain upon the camp of the king of Pruſſia was thus unſucceſsful, the ſcheme of the Auſtrian general was well concerted, and he had much reaſon to expect a very different termination of the buſineſs. He knew, that Frederick had made large detachments from his army [c], and that he laboured under various diſadvantages; and the night before he made his attack, he had approached with great ſilence the right flank of the Pruſſian army, formed his army in battle array, and poſted his cannon in the moſt advantageous manner. But on the day of action Frederick diſplayed all the talents of a great general, and was ſo well ſupported by his officers and men, who fought with the utmoſt intrepidity, that though he was thus ſuddenly attacked, and taken at a great diſadvantage, and though the Auſtrian army was greatly ſuperior in number to that of his own, he yet obtained a great and a ſignal victory.

AFTER the battle of SOHR, the king of Pruſſia continued ſome time in the neighbourhood of

[c] The king of Pruſſia afterwards reproached himſelf for his imprudence, in having at this time made ſuch large detachments from his army. Referring to this, in his *Military Inſtructions for his Generals*, he ſays, "I ſhould have been beaten, "and I deſerved it, at SOHR, if the abilities of my generals, "and the intrepidity of my troops, had not ſaved me from that "misfortune." P. 53, 54.

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Trautenau, from whence he removed on the sixteenth of October, and having passed with his army through the defiles of Schatzlar, encamped the same day between that town and Liebau. He staid there only till the nineteenth of the month, when all the army, excepting a large detachment under the command of lieutenant-general du Moulin, struck their tents, and went into quarters of cantonment, the cavalry on the plains of Schweidnitz and Striegau, and the infantry at the foot of the mountains [143]. Having regulated the winter quarters of the troops, the king set out for Berlin, leaving the command of the army to field-mareschal prince Leopold.

WHEN Frederick arrived at Berlin, he was attended by his body-guards, who entered the city in a kind of triumph. They had in their train the cannon which had been taken from the enemy in the last campaign, and the standards and colours that were taken in the battles of Hohen Friedberg and Sohr. These trophies were afterwards conveyed, in solemn procession, to the church erected for the military by Frederick William. M. Bielfeld had, in the course of the year, been appointed preceptor to prince Ferdinand, the king's youngest brother; and on this occasion he stood with the prince in a balcony, over the gate of the palace, in order to see the military procession to the church. M. Borck, one of the king's ministers, stood in

[143] King of Prussia's Campaigns, p. 166.

the

the ſame balcony for the ſame purpoſe; and, while the proceſſion was paſſing, clapped Bielfeld on the ſhoulder, and ſaid to him in a low voice, "Ah! "my dear friend, PEACE were better than all "this [144]." The Pruſſian miniſter knew, that at that time there was no immediate proſpect of a peace; and, perhaps, might be of opinion, that the new acquiſitions of the king, and his military renown, and military trophies, were not a ſufficient compenſation to his old ſubjects, for the burthens, the dangers, and the calamities of war. Frederick himſelf, but a ſhort time before, ſeems to have adopted ſimilar ſentiments. For, in his ANTI-MACHIAVEL, he obſerves, that "the new con-"queſts of a ſovereign do not render the dominions "that he poſſeſſed before more opulent nor more "proſperous; his former ſubjects are not benefited "by them; and he deceives himſelf if he imagines, "that he ſhall thereby become more happy [145]."

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SOON after Frederick returned to Berlin, he received information from prince Leopold of Anhalt Deſſau, that prince Charles of Lorrain was not putting his army into winter quarters, as he had taken ſome pains to make the Pruſſians believe, but that a body of ten thouſand Auſtrians, under the command of general count de Grunn, was marching towards Saxony; and that other large detachments from the Auſtrian army were march-

[144] Bielfeld's Letters, vol. I. p. 230, 231.

[145] Anti-Machiavel, edit. Lond. 1741, p. 18.

ing

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ing in different directions, and in ſuch a manner as to give juſt ground of alarm to the Pruſſians. The king alſo received ſome farther information reſpecting the deſigns of the Auſtrians, and gave out at Berlin, that he 'had diſcovered a plan of 'operation, concerted by his enemies, by which 'they intended to attack him in the winter, in five 'different places at the ſame time; and, if it were 'poſſible, totally to overthrow him. The moſt 'conſiderable of theſe five armies was to enter the 'king's dominions by the way of Croſſen, and to 'cut off his communication with Sileſia; the 'ſecond was to enter Upper Sileſia; and the third 'into Lower Luſatia; a fourth was to march 'through Leipſic, and to fall upon Halle and 'Magdeburgh; and laſtly, the fifth, conſiſting of 'about twenty thouſand men, were to march to 'Berlin, and poſſeſs themſelves of that capital; 'and by theſe means they were to give a mortal 'blow to the king's power [146].'

WHETHER any ſuch deſigns were really formed by the Auſtrians and Saxons, as were attributed to them by the king of Pruſſia, may reaſonably be queſtioned; as they ſeem not to have aſſembled, in the neighbourhood of the Pruſſian dominions, any bodies of troops ſufficiently numerous for the execution of ſchemes of ſuch magnitude. It appears alſo to have been a part of the policy of Frederick,

[146] Lettres familieres de M. le Baron de Bielfeld, tom. II. p. 198. edit. La Haye, 1763.

to

to endeavour to intereſt his ſubjects the more on his behalf, and make them enter more heartily into his enterprizes, by propagating reports of dangerous ſchemes pretended to be formed by his enemies againſt him and his dominions. Perhaps little more might be intended by the Auſtrians, than to furniſh a body of troops to aſſiſt in the defence of Saxony, in caſe it ſhould be attacked by the king of Pruſſia, which there was much reaſon to apprehend, from a manifeſto which he had ſome time before publiſhed [147], in which he had declared, that his troops were about to act in a hoſtile manner againſt that electorate.

WHEN the Auſtrian troops began to be in motion, prince Leopold drew the Pruſſian troops in Sileſia out of their cantonments, and ſtationed them in ſuch a manner as would enable them to watch the progreſs of the Auſtrians. The king alſo directed the reigning prince of Anhalt Deſſau, who was with him at Berlin, to ſet out from that capital, and to aſſemble a large body of Pruſſian troops, in the neighbourhood of Halle, in Saxony. Frederick himſelf alſo prepared to quit his capital, in order to put himſelf at the head of his army in Sileſia.

THE night before the king left Berlin, he ſupped with the reigning queen, the queen dowager, the reſt of the royal family, count Podewills, and the lady of his high ſteward. After ſupper, he took

[147] Gent. Mag. vol. XV. p. 413. 414. 415.

leave

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leave of the queens, and of the princes and princeſſes; and as he was going out of the hall in which they had ſupped, he ſaw count Podewills ſtanding near the door, who offered to kiſs his hand, but Frederick embraced him, and ſaid, "Adieu, my "dear count, take good care of yourſelf, and if "any misfortune ſhould befall me, remember, that "you have loſt a ſincere friend [148]." He then went to bed for a few hours, and ſet off early the next morning, which was the 16th of November [149]. Bielfeld, who was preſent at his departure, ſays, "Never did I ſee him more gay, with a more "pleaſing countenance, and higher ſpirits, than at "that moment. Full of pleaſantry, he ſeated "himſelf in the coach, with his brother, the prince "royal, and general Rothenburg; and, attended "by our moſt ardent wiſhes, ſet off full gallop [150]."

AFTER the king of Pruſſia had arrived in Sileſia, and taken upon him the command of his army there, he called in ſome detachments, and aſſembled his troops near Naumbourg on the Queiſs, on the twenty-third of the month. His army then amounted to about thirty-five thouſand men. With theſe he paſſed the ſmall river Queiſs the ſame day, the cavalry by the fords, the infantry on bridges, and ſo entered Saxony. While the Pruſſians were

[148] Bielfeld's Letters, vol. I. p. 236, 237.
[149] King of Pruſſia's Campaigns, p. 169.
[150] Letters, ut ſupra, p. 239.

paſſing

passing the river, the light troops on their right had a skirmish with a body of Uhlans, who quickly retired; but the hussars of Ziethen and Ruesch, who had passed the river on the left, found in the village of HENNERSDORFF three regiments of Saxon horse, and a regiment of infantry, who were cantoned there without much precaution. The Prussians, therefore, easily put to flight the weak piquets of the Saxons, and entered at one end of the village, taking some prisoners, and much booty. But the love of plunder amused the hussars too long, and gave the Saxons time to form at the other end of the village, which was of considerable length. The Saxons accordingly stood their ground there, and would probably have retired in good order, and with little loss, if Frederick himself had not instantly detached ten squadrons of cuirassiers, and two battalions of grenadiers, to support the hussars [152]. A smart action then took place, in which the Saxons were totally defeated, great numbers of them killed, and near a thousand taken prisoners, among whom was a major-general, and twenty-seven other officers. The Prussians also took some cannon, standards, colours, kettle-drums, and a large quantity of ammunition; and in the evening encamped near HENNERSDORFF.

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THE following day the Prussian army marched, through a thick fog, to Trotschendorf and Lichtenberg. They found, upon the road, a great

[152] King of Prussia's Campaigns, p. 170.

number

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number of covered waggons, belonging to the Auſtrians and Saxons, broken to pieces, and the ammunition ſcattered on the ground. The Pruſſians were alſo informed by the country people, that the army of the enemy was re-aſſembled at GORLITZ, with a deſign to give them battle there. The vanguard of the Pruſſian army, conſiſting of all the huſſars, and ſome battalions of grenadiers, advanced to that place on the night of the twenty-fourth, and was followed on the twenty-fifth by the cavalry of the right wing, and afterwards by the whole army. They ſummoned the town, and it ſurrendered with its garriſon. They found there plenty of forage and proviſions, and encamped that day in the neighbourhood. But the army of the enemy, inſtead of waiting for them, made haſte to get to the little river of Neiſs, with a view to ſhelter themſelves behind it. The king of Pruſſia, not thinking it proper to let them recover from their ſurprize, cauſed his troops to continue their march on the twenty-ſixth. In his way he took ſome ſmall magazines, and upon his arrival on the banks of the Neiſs, found that the Auſtrian general had decamped by ſtealth, and taken the road to Zittau. Frederick immediately detached a ſtrong vanguard, conſiſting of dragoons, grenadiers, and huſſars, under the command of lieutenant-general Bonin, and the major-generals Winterfeld and Kleiſt, in order to bring the enemy to a battle, if poſſible, or elſe to harraſs him in his retreat. The Pruſſian detachment

tachment came up with the Auſtrian army in the evening, after it had proceeded beyond Zittau, and taken poſt on an eminence, near the road to Gabel. As the Auſtrians were much ſuperior in numbers, and poſted to advantage, the Pruſſians ſatisfied themſelves with puſhing their light troops near them, and taking poſſeſſion, in their ſight, of the town and its ſuburbs, that they might defend themſelves there the next day, in caſe of an attack, and give the king time to come up with his whole army. But the Auſtrians decamped at two in the morning, and retreated to Bohemia, through the defiles of Gabel [152]. The Pruſſians did not know that the Auſtrians were decamped till day-break, when they iſſued out of the town to retard them in their march; but as the Auſtrians had made great haſte, and had adopted the uſual precautions on ſuch occaſions, by putting the beſt men they had in their rear-guard, the Pruſſians were obliged to content themſelves with ſome priſoners and plunder. The Auſtrians left behind them fifteen hundred waggons; though theſe are ſaid to have been chiefly plundered by the Saxon and Bohemian peaſants in the neighbourhood [153].

WHILE the Auſtrians were thus retreating before the king of Pruſſia into Bohemia, the city of Berlin was exceedingly alarmed with reports of the approach of count Grunn to that capital, at the head

[152] King of Pruſſia's Campaigns, p. 172, 173.
[153] Ibid. p. 174.

of

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of a large Auſtrian army; but the count made no attempt upon the city, his troops were not numerous, and the apprehenſions of the inhabitants of Berlin were much greater than their danger. In the mean time, the prince of Anhalt Deſſau had made a great progreſs in Saxony. He had marched from Halle, and attacked the city of LEIPSIC, which was defended by lieutenant-general count de Renard; but as the troops under his command were not proportioned to the extent of the city, he thought proper to abandon it, in order to ſave his men, and retreated by the village of Schoenfeld, with a view to get the moraſs between him and the Pruſſian army. But, during the night, he entirely left the neighbourhood of Leipſic, and marched to join count Rutowſki, who was encamped under the cannon of Dreſden. The prince of Anhalt now ſummoned the city to ſurrender, which it accordingly did by capitulation; and the prince took poſſeſſion of it with four battalions of grenadiers. He alſo ſent a detachment of grenadiers, who made themſelves maſters, on the fifth of December, of the town of TORGAU, where there was a fine magazine. The prince himſelf afterwards proceeded to that place, by the acquiſition of which he ſecured a communication with the army of the king, from whom he received directions to move towards MEISSEN. On the twelfth of December, early in the morning, the prince detached general count de Geſler, with three hundred huſſars, ſeven

ſquadrons of cavalry, and four battalions of grenadiers, to attack that place. General Geſler found the town in the poſſeſſion of major-general Alembick, with ſeveral companies of grenadiers; who being ſummoned to ſurrender, Alembick returned for anſwer, that he would ſend to Dreſden, to aſk advice there of the council of war. The prince arriving in the mean time, at the head of his army, refuſed to admit of any delay; whereupon Alembick evacuated the place ſilently, and retired with his men to Dreſden. The prince then took poſſeſſion of Meiſſen, and was ſoon after joined by another body of Pruſſian troops, under the command of general Lehwald [154].

ON the fourteenth of the month, the army under the command of the prince of Anhalt reſumed its march, in four columns, and took poſt near the little village of Roehrſdorf, in order of battle. The following day, the troops continued their march; and the vanguard, conſiſting entirely of huſſars, began to ſkirmiſh, near the ſmall town of Wilſdrouff, with ſome light cavalry, who were commanded by lieutenant-general Sybiliſki. After the Pruſſians had marched about half an hour, they ſaw the army of the enemy in order of battle, on the eminences of Bennerick and Keſſeldorff; the right wing being before Bennerick, and the left behind Keſſeldorff, which count Rotowſki had lined with ſeven or eight battalions of Auſtrian and Saxon

[154] King of Pruſſia's Campaigns, p. 178, 180.

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grenadiers, and a great number of cannon. All the firſt line, and the greateſt part of the ſecond, from the left wing to the center, conſiſted of infantry; the remainder of the ſecond line, and the whole of the third, was cavalry. The batteries of the front and flanks of Keſſeldorff were ſupported on the right by twelve ſquadrons of dragoons, and on the left by Sybiliſki's corps, and ſome companies of grenadiers, poſted in the hollow ways. The left wing began behind that village, extending towards that of Zoelmen, and was covered by a large battery: the center behind Zoelmen had before its front a moraſs and two batteries. The right, before the village of Bennerick, was fortified with a battery and the little village of Ztſchon, which rendered any approach to it extremely difficult. Higher on the right, between the villages of Ockerwitz and Brizewitz, was poſted the body under the command of the count de Grunn, excepting two regiments of horſe, which made the right wing of the ſecond line of the Saxons [155].

THE prince of Anhalt, having examined the poſition of the enemy's army, determined to make his attack on the left, thinking himſelf certain of victory, if he could make himſelf maſter of the poſt at KESSELDORFF, and thereby get at the enemy's flank. Accordingly he drew up his army in ſuch a manner as he thought would beſt effectuate his purpoſe, and it being then about two in the

[155] King of Pruſſia's Campaigns, p. 181, 182.

after-

afternoon, and the ſhortneſs of the day not allowing time for unneceſſary arrangements, the prince haſtened to attack the village with three battalions of grenadiers, under the command of major-general Hertzberg, followed by three battalions of the regiment of Anhalt, and ſupported by five ſquadrons of Bonin's regiment of dragoons, and five ſquadrons of Stille's cuiraſſiers. They marched up with great intrepidity; but the fire of thirty pieces of cannon, well ſerved, and that of ſeven battalions of grenadiers, with which the village was lined, made ſuch havock, that they were forced to move a little to the right, that the whole body might not be ſacrificed at once. They reſumed, however, the ſame attack, but were ſtill unſucceſsful; which emboldened the enemy's grenadiers to ſally out, that they might attack the aſſailants with ſtill more effect. But this ſally proved highly detrimental to the Auſtrians and Saxons, and extremely beneficial to the Pruſſians. For the prince of Anhalt having ordered Bonin's dragoons to attack the grenadiers of the enemy at full ſpeed, they ſoon routed them, entered with them into the village, and made a moſt dreadful ſlaughter. In the mean time, ſome of the Pruſſian battalions made themſelves maſters of the batteries, and of that whole poſt; and Stille's regiment of cuiraſſiers, leaving KESSELDORFF on the right, drove out all the horſe and foot that were in the defiles, and on the eminences, and got to the flank of their army.

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THE whole front of the Pruſſian army now advanced, and the battle became nearly general. The right wing of the Pruſſian infantry got between the village and its neighbourhood, puſhed thoſe regiments of the Auſtrians and Saxons that were before it, and threw the whole of their two lines into confuſion; and this was done the more effectually, becauſe the right wing of the Pruſſian cavalry had not only gained the enemy's flank, but alſo got upon their rear, having met with little reſiſtance from moſt of their ſquadrons, which at the firſt charge gave way. From the left wing of the Pruſſians ſome battalions were detached, which took poſt near Zoelmen, and maintained it, notwithſtanding the diſadvantage of the ground, and a terrible fire from the Saxon artillery upon their flanks. Soon after the whole line of the Pruſſians advanced acroſs the moraſſes between KESSELDORFF, Zoelmen, and Bennerick, attacked the enemy's center and right wing, and put them to flight without much reſiſtance, their left wing being before entirely routed. Fifty ſquadrons which yet remained on the eminences behind Zoelmen, were driven from their poſts by ſome Pruſſian battalions, as were alſo the troops under the command of the count de Grunn; and the prince of Anhalt had now obtained a compleat victory [156].

VOLTAIRE, ſpeaking of this action, ſays, 'It 'was the famous old PRINCE OF ANHALT who

[156] King of Pruſſia's Campaigns, p. 183, 184, 185.

'gained

'gained this decisive victory. He had been a war- CHAP. IX.
'rior fifty years, and was the first that entered into A. D.
'the lines of the French army at Turin in 1707. 1745.
'For conducting the infantry, he was esteemed the
'most experienced officer in Europe. This great
'battle was the last that filled up the measure of
'his military glory; the only glory which he had
'enjoyed, for fighting was his only province [157].'
In the battle of KESSELDORFF, great numbers of the Austrians and Saxons were killed and wounded, and four thousand were made prisoners. Among the prisoners were four generals, and a great number of other officers; and the Prussians also made themselves masters of all the Austrian and Saxon artillery.

THE king of Prussia himself, with the troops with which he had driven the Austrians into Bohemia, arrived in the neighbourhood of Kesseldorff, two days after the victory obtained there by the prince of Anhalt. He immediately proceeded to DRESDEN, and summoned that city to surrender. Before his arrival, the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, had withdrawn from his capital, and retired to Prague. Dresden surrendered, by capitulation, on the eighteenth of December; and the king of Prussia 'entered it,' says Voltaire, 'followed by ten battalions and ten squadrons. He 'disarmed three regiments of the militia which 'composed the garrison; went to the palace, where

[157] Age of Lewis XV. ch. 17.

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'he viſited the two princes, and the three princeſſes, the children of the king of Poland, who reſided in it; he embraced them, and ſhewed them all the marks of tenderneſs and regard, which might be expected from the moſt polite man of his age. He ordered the ſhops and warehouſes, which had been ſhut up, to be opened; gave a dinner to all the foreign miniſters; and had an Italian opera played. In ſhort, it was ſcarcely perceptible, that the town was in the power of the conqueror; and the ſurrender of Dreſden was ſignalized only by the entertainments that this monarch gave there [158].'

THE politeneſs of the king of Pruſſia did not, however, prevent him from levying very heavy contributions on the inhabitants of Saxony. And the king of Poland, who had thought it neceſſary to withdraw from the capital of his electorate, and who was weakly ſupported by his allies, was now induced to enter into a negociation with Frederick. Mr. Villiers, the Britiſh miniſter at the court of Dreſden, was employed in the negociation, and a treaty of peace was concluded in a few days, under the mediation of his Britannick majeſty. The court of Vienna, which had carried on the war againſt the king of Pruſſia, for ſome time paſt, with little ſucceſs, agreed alſo to be comprehended in the treaty. In ſome letters which paſſed, during the courſe of the negociation, between the king of

[158] Age of Lewis XV. ut ſupra.

Pruſſia

Pruſſia and Mr. Villiers, Frederick profeſſed great eſteem for the Britiſh miniſter, and declared, in very ſtrong terms, his own deſire of peace, if the king of Poland would agree to a reaſonable accommodation. He ſeemed hurt, that his Poliſh majeſty ſhould have quitted his capital; which was, he ſaid, in his opinion, offering him an affront. He had always, he obſerved, eſteemed his Poliſh majeſty perſonally; and, amidſt the greateſt ravages of war, reſpect would have been had to his character and family. But as an inducement to the king of Poland to comply with his terms, Frederick remarked, that "without hate, or private "animoſity, all the world muſt agree, that eighty "thouſand men, in ſuch a country as Saxony, could "not fail of ruining it in courſe of time [159]."

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By the treaty of DRESDEN, which was concluded on the twenty-fifth of December, 1745, it was ſtipulated, that all the contributions levied by his Pruſſian majeſty, in the electorate of Saxony, to the twenty-ſecond of December, incluſive, ſhould be retained to his proper uſe; and that his Poliſh majeſty ſhould alſo, at the Eaſter fair at Leipſic, pay to the king of Pruſſia one million of German crowns, with intereſt, at the rate of five *per cent.* to be computed from the day of ſigning the treaty. The ſubjects of his Pruſſian majeſty, who were intereſted in the Saxon funds, were to be exactly

[159] Letters of the King of Pruſſia to Mr. Villiers, publiſhed in the Gentleman's Magazine, vol. XVI. p. 142, 143, 144.

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paid. The king of Poland, as elector of Saxony, was not to make any innovations, to the prejudice of the Proteſtant religion, in that electorate. The Saxons who had enliſted in the Pruſſian ſervice, from the time that the Pruſſians entered Saxony, were to continue in that ſervice. The queen of Hungary ceded Sileſia to the king of Pruſſia, in the ſame manner that it had been ceded by the treaty of Breſlaw, in which the king of Poland concurred, and which was guarantied by the king of Great Britain. The elector palatine was comprehended in this treaty, and both he, and the king of Pruſſia, agreed to acknowledge the grand duke of Tuſcany as emperor of Germany; and his imperial majeſty confirmed, in favour of the king of Pruſſia, certain privileges *de non evocando*, conceded to his Pruſſian majeſty by the late emperor Charles VII. which related to ſome territories poſſeſſed by the king of Pruſſia, not appertaining to the electorate of Brandenburgh. This treaty was ſigned by the Saxon miniſter, by count Podewills, cabinet miniſter to the king of Pruſſia, by count Kaunitz, the imperial miniſter, and by Mr. Villiers, the Britiſh miniſter at the court of Dreſden.

COUNT Algarotti informs us, that after the battle of Keſſeldorff, the prince of Anhalt promiſed the pillage of Dreſden to his ſoldiers, as a recompence for their behaviour in that action: but the king would not ſuffer the city to be plundered [160]. It

[160] Letters military and political, p. 111.

is

is alſo ſaid, that the moſt exact diſcipline was obſerved by the Pruſſian troops, during their ſtay at Dreſden; and it is mentioned as an inſtance of the king's moderation, that he would not even ſuffer his brother, Auguſtus William, to gratify his curioſity, by ſeeing the rarities depoſited in the Green Vault, leſt any accident ſhould happen to them [161]. What is called the Green Vault conſiſts, according to baron Pollnitz, of three arched rooms, painted green, and which, he ſays, is "one of the fineſt "places in the world, and contains immenſe riches, "ſhining all over with gold, precious ſtones, and "diamonds." Theſe rooms certainly contain a prodigious number of natural and artificial curioſities.

AFTER the peace of Dreſden was concluded, the Pruſſian troops evacuated Saxony, and Frederick returned immediately to Berlin, where he was received by his ſubjects with loud acclamations. On the day that he entered the city, he was met, about ſix miles from it, by great numbers of citizens of Berlin, and others, on horſeback, marſhalled in companies, who attended him to his palace. The king ſat in an open phaëton, and was accompanied by his two brothers, the prince of Pruſſia, and prince Henry [162]. The number of ſpectators who ſurrounded the carriage was ſo great, that the horſes could advance only ſtep by ſtep;

[161] Memoirs of Frederick III, p. 89, 90.

[162] Bielfeld's Letters, vol. II. p. 5.

and

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and the ſolemnity of their pace added to the dignity of this triumphant entry. Great numbers of coaches, filled with nobility and gentry who came to meet the king, had now joined the proceſſion. The air reſounded with the acclamations of the people, who cried out, "Long live the king; long "live FREDERICK THE GREAT." Frederick ſaluted the ſpectators on the right and on the left, and ſaid to thoſe who eagerly crowded to ſee him, "Do not preſs each other, my children. Take "care of yourſelves, that the horſes may not tram-"ple upon you, and that no accident may hap-"pen." In his whole behaviour on this occaſion, the king exhibited the utmoſt mildneſs, gentleneſs, and affability; and ſeemed to be under the influence of the greateſt affection for his people. When he arrived at the palace, the crowd renewed their acclamations; and the citizens, who had been formed into companies to meet him at a diſtance from the city, drew up, with drums beating, and colours flying, under the palace windows.

AT ſix o'clock in the evening, the whole city was illuminated. Frederick then went into his coach, attended by the prince of Pruſſia and prince Henry, and was followed by prince Ferdinand, in order to make the circuit of the city. But the king had now received information, that M. DUHAN, who had been one of his preceptors, lay at the point of death. And, notwithſtanding the general joy and exultation, Frederick quitted the

pomp

pomp of the court, and the triumph of the city, that he might perform the laſt offices of humanity to his old preceptor. He ordered his carriage to be driven to the houſe of M. Duhan, which was ſituated in a kind of court, the houſes of which were ſo crowded with lamps, in conſequence of the general illumination, that when the king and his brothers entered the ſick man's chamber, it was found neceſſary, on account of the heat, though in the depth of winter, to open the windows. "It was an affecting "ſight," ſays Bielfeld, "to ſee a dying man, in "the midſt of a brilliant illumination, ſurrounded "by princes, and viſited by a triumphant monarch, "who, in the midſt of the inceſſant clamour of "exultation, ſought only to alleviate the ſick man's "pangs, participating of his diſtreſs, and reflect-"ing upon the vanity of all human grandeur." When the king had taken a tender adieu of M. Duhan, who ſurvived only till the next day, he went again into his coach, rode round the city, and returned to the palace about ten that evening [163].

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THREE days after the king's return to Berlin, he gave a ſplendid entertainment at the opera-houſe, as the Feaſt of Peace. The court was ſeated at ſix large tables; and, behind the ſcenes, and in the different apartments of the theatre, a cold collation, with a deſert, and plenty of wine, was provided for the citizens of Berlin. The opera-houſe was illu-

[163] Bielfeld's Letters, vol. II. p. 10, 11, 13.

minated

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minated in the inſide with wax candles, and on the outſide with lamps. Directly fronting the theatre was erected a building, which repreſented the temple of JANUS; the gates of which were faſtened by a ſoldier in a Roman habit. Behind this temple were exhibited ſome magnificent fireworks. A grand maſquerade ball was likewiſe given on the occaſion, which laſted till day-light [164].

THE opera-houſe, in which this ſplendid entertainment was given, is a very magnificent ſtructure, and was begun to be erected by Frederick at the commencement of his reign. Dr. Burney obſerves, that it was firſt opened on the birth-day of the queen-mother, in the year 1742 [165]. The principal front has two entrances, one level with the ground, and the other by a grand double flight of ſteps. This front is decorated with ſix Corinthian pillars, with their entablature entire, ſupporting a pediment ornamented with reliefs, and with the following inſcription upon it:

FRIDERICUS REX APOLLINI ET MUSIS.

THE front of this edifice is alſo decorated with a conſiderable number of ſtatues of poets, and dramatic actors, which are placed in niches. The two ſides are conſtructed in the ſame manner,

[164] Bielfeld's Letters, vol. II. p. 14.

[165] Preſent State of Muſic in Germany, vol. II. p. 101. ſecond edition.

only

only there are no pillars [166]. There is a very large pit in this opera-houſe; and it has alſo four rows of boxes, and three galleries; and has been computed capable of containing more than two thouſand perſons.

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[166] Ibid. p. 95, 96.

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CHAP. X.

Attention of the king of Pruſſia to civil regulations, and matters of domeſtic policy.—Eſtabliſhment of the Frederician code.—M. Maupertuis placed at the head of the royal academy of ſciences and belles lettres.—New regulations of that academy.—Frederick grants permiſſion for the erection of a Roman Catholic church at Berlin.

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AT the commencement of the year 1746, peace being eſtabliſhed in Germany, the king of Pruſſia was at leiſure to attend to civil regulations in his dominions, and to the promotion of commerce, literature, ſcience, and the arts. Theſe objects, therefore, in a conſiderable degree engaged his attention; and he alſo endeavoured to introduce a great reform into the courts of juſtice, and in the forms and expence of legal proceedings. He had remarked the long delays, and the enormous expences, which were attendant upon law-ſuits; and he conſidered theſe as a great evil to his ſubjects. He had alſo obſerved, that each of his provinces had a different mode of judicial procedure, which in many caſes was productive of great inconveniencies. With a view, therefore, to remedy theſe evils, he propoſed that the forms of all the courts, in every part of his dominions, ſhould be reduced to one uniform courſe of procedure, by which

which all cauſes might be prepared for hearing, and terminated in the courſe of a year, though the litigating parties ſhould bring them into two courts; and even if appeals were made to the ſupreme tribunal, the cauſes were to be finally ſettled within that time. This plan the king communicated to baron COCCEIUS, his high chancellor; and directed him to make an experiment of it in Pomerania, a large province, which antiently was called *terra litigioſa*, on account of the litigious diſpoſition of its inhabitants [167]. The king's plan ſucceeded ſo well in Pomerania, that it was alſo tried in other provinces, and at length produced the FREDERICIAN CODE, which was adopted in all the Pruſſian dominions. It was firſt publiſhed in the German language, and afterwards publiſhed in French; and an Engliſh tranſlation of it was printed at Edinburgh, in 1761, in two volumes, 8vo. under the following title: "The FREDERICIAN CODE; or, a body of law for the dominions of the king of Pruſſia, founded on reaſon, and the conſtitutions of the country."

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BY the new regulations which now took place in judicial proceedings, throughout the Pruſſian dominions, the attornies, who had formerly the care of collecting evidence and of adjuſting all the preliminaries of a ſuit, were totally diſmiſſed; the whole buſineſs was put into the hands of the advo-

[167] Summary View of the King's Plan for the regulation of Judicial Proceedings, written by M. Formey, and prefixed to the Frederician Code, vol. I. p. vi.

gates;

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cates; and the office of an attorney was annulled for ever. An inquiry was alſo ordered into the qualifications of the advocates. All thoſe who practiſed without a regular admiſſion, or who ſhould be convicted of illicit practices, were to be diſcarded. And the judges were commanded to examine which of the cauſes, then depending, had been protracted by the crimes or ignorance of the advocates, and to diſmiſs thoſe who ſhould be found culpable. The fees of advocates were exactly aſcertained; and no fees were to be paid till the cauſe was terminated. Advocates were ſtrictly enjoined not to undertake any cauſe, nor to begin any proceſs, before they had obtained from their clients all the information neceſſary for ſetting the matter in a true light, and enabling the judges to give a juſt deciſion. The number of advocates to be employed in each court was fixed, and a diſtinct advocate was appointed for the poor. No advocate was admitted in petty courts, ſmall towns, or villages; where the poverty of the people, and generally the low value of the matter conteſted, rendered diſpatch abſolutely neceſſary. In ſuch places, the parties were to appear before a judge appointed for the diſtrict, who was directed to make a ſummary deciſion.

THAT the king of Pruſſia had conſidered the nature and deſign of laws with more attention than is uſual to princes, is manifeſt from his "Diſſertation on the reaſons for the enacting and repealing

" ing of laws," of which an Engliſh tranſlation has been publiſhed, and annexed to the firſt volume of his " Memoirs of the Houſe of Brandenburgh." In this Diſſertation, he ſays, 'A perfect body of 'laws would be one of the nobleſt productions of 'the human mind. Such a work would require 'an unity of deſign, and ſo great an exactneſs and 'proportion of rules, that a ſtate directed by thoſe 'laws would be like a watch, whoſe ſprings are all 'made for the ſame end. It would require a pro-'found knowledge of the human heart, and of the 'temper and conſtitution of the people. It would 'require moderation in the infliction of puniſh-'ments, ſo as to preſerve the morals of the people, 'without being either too mild, or too ſevere. It 'would require a ſingular perſpicuity and diſtinct-'neſs in wording the decrees, ſo as never to afford 'any room for chicanery; and the decrees them-'ſelves ſhould be an abſtract of the beſt regulations 'of the civil law, adapted with ingenuity and ſim-'plicity to the cuſtoms of the nation. In ſhort, it 'would require ſagacity to provide againſt every 'caſe that may happen, and judgment to combine 'even the minuteſt circumſtances. But perfection 'is not to be expected from the frail condition of 'humanity.' Frederick alſo obſerves, that 'a few 'wiſe laws make a nation happy; but a multipli-'city of them embarraſs the adminiſtration of juſ-'tice. As a ſkilful phyſician does not overload his 'patient with medicines, ſo a wiſe legiſlator does

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'not burthen the public with superfluous laws. 'Medicines, when too numerous, obstruct one 'another, and have not their proper effect; so too 'many laws become a labyrinth, in which the 'lawyers and justice itself are lost.'

IN the course of this dissertation, the king likewise makes some observations concerning the establishment of laws among the nations of antiquity, and more particularly the Roman laws. He afterwards proceeds to the laws and constitution of England, gives some account of Magna Charta, and makes the following remarks relative to the laws of England: 'Though England has a great many 'good laws, yet there is, perhaps, no country in 'Europe, where they are so badly executed. Rapin 'Thoyras justly remarks, that it is owing to a de-'fect in the government, that the regal power is 'continually clashing with that of the parliament; 'that their time is employed in watching each other, 'either to maintain or to enlarge their authority; 'that this jealousy between the king and the repre-'sentatives of the nation, takes off their attention 'from the due administration of justice; and that 'this restless and tumultuous government is conti-'nually altering its laws by new acts of parliament, 'according to the exigency of different conjunctures 'and events; from whence it follows, that there is 'no kingdom whatsoever that has so great a need 'of a reformation in the law as England.' That there is much occasion for reformation in the laws

of

of England, that they are too voluminous, that there is often too much delay in the administration of justice, and that law-suits are too expensive, may readily be admitted. But there is nothing in the constitution of England that would prevent a revisal of the laws, or that renders it impracticable to remedy these evils. And as to what our royal author says of the "restless and tumultuous government" of England, it is certain, that much more tranquility was enjoyed in England, during Frederick's reign, than in the Prussian dominions.

THE king of Prussia was of opinion, that the punishments inflicted for robbery, in most countries, were too severe. 'Robberies,' says he, 'attended with 'aggravating circumstances, deserve to be punish-'ed with death; but those committed without vio-'lence, may be viewed in such a light as to excite 'compassion towards the guilty. The distance is 'infinite between the situation of the rich and of 'the poor. The one roll in affluence, and riot in 'superfluity. The other are forsaken by fortune, 'and destitute even of necessaries. If a poor fel-'low steals, through want, a few pistoles, or a gold 'watch, from a man whose wealth even prevents 'him from feeling the loss, is this a reason for con-'demning him to death? Does not humanity call 'upon us to soften the severity of the punishment? 'It seems, indeed, that this law was made by the 'rich; and have not the poor a right to say, "Is

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" there no compaſſion due to our unhappy ſitua-
" tion? If you were charitable, if you were hu-
" mane, you would ſuccour us in our diſtreſs, and
" then we ſhould not rob you. We aſk you whe-
" ther it be fair, that all the pleaſures of life ſhould
" fall to your ſhare, and nothing but miſery to
" ours [168]?"

FREDERICK alſo condemns the practice of employing torture to extort confeſſion, which he cenſures as equally cruel and uſeleſs; and which he had, much to his honour, aboliſhed throughout his own dominions. But on this ſubject he makes a miſtake reſpecting England. 'In England,' ſays he, 'they had formerly the ordeal, or purgation 'by fire and by water. At preſent, they have a 'kind of torture leſs ſevere than the ordinary one, 'but which amounts nearly to the ſame thing [169].' Frederick ſeems to have been led into this miſapprehenſion, by the antient law which prevailed in this country, that thoſe perſons ſhould be preſſed to death, who refuſed to plead either guilty or not guilty. But this was a very different thing from torture to extort confeſſion; an occaſion to put this law in force ſeldom occurred; and it is now wholly aboliſhed by act of parliament.

IN 1746, M. MAUPERTUIS was appointed preſident of the royal academy of ſciences and belles

[168] Diſſertation ſur les raiſons d'etabler ou d'abroger les loix, p. 571, 572. edit. Lond. 1767. [169] Ibid. p. 575, 576.

lettres

lettres at Berlin; and on the tenth of May, that year, ſome new laws, for the regulation of the academy, were approved and confirmed by the king [170]. The academy was to continue, as before, divided into four claſſes. The firſt claſs was that of experimental philoſophy, comprehending chymiſtry, anatomy, botany, and all the ſciences which are founded upon experiment. The ſecond claſs, that of mathematics, comprehending geometry, algebra, mechanics, aſtronomy, and all the ſciences which have for their object abſtract extenſion, or numbers. The third claſs, that of ſpeculative philoſophy, included logic, metaphyſics, and morals. The fourth claſs was that of the belles lettres, and comprehended antiquities, hiſtory, and languages [171]. The academy was to conſiſt of three kinds of academicians, honorary, ordinary, and foreigners. The honorary members were not to be confined to any particular claſs, were to be only ſixteen in number, and were not obliged to produce any papers. The ordinary members were to be divided into veterans, penſionaries, and aſſociates. The veterans were to conſiſt of thoſe who, after long ſervices, had merited a diſpenſation from academical labours, and the continuance of their penſions and privileges. The penſionaries were to be twelve in number, and the aſſociates the ſame; and every penſionary

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[170] Oeuvres de Maupertuis, tom. III. p. 311. edit. 1768

[171] Ibid. p. 303, 304.

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was to read two papers a year, and every aſſociate one. All new members were to be elected by the majority of the members preſent in the meetings of the academy; excepting that when there was a vacancy of a penſionary's place, the academy ſhould fix upon three perſons, two of whom ſhould be members of the academy, and one who was not a member; and out of theſe three the king ſhould fix upon the perſon to ſupply the vacancy. The ordinary meetings of the academy were to be holden every Thurſday, except at certain vacations; and the preſident, four curators of the academy, the ſecretary, the hiſtoriographer, and the librarian, were to conſtitute a committee, and to meet once a month, in order to fix upon ſuch papers as ſhould be publiſhed in the memoirs of the academy.

THESE new regulations were chiefly drawn up by Maupertuis, but ſome additions were made by the king's own hand. Frederick was deſirous of giving more power to the preſident, than was conſiſtent with thoſe liberal ſentiments, which ought to prevail in an academy of ſciences: and even in the new regulations of the academy his ideas ſeem to have been ſomewhat military. In the additions to theſe regulations made by the king himſelf, he ſays, 'The preſident Maupertuis ſhall have authority to 'beſtow the vacant penſions upon thoſe perſons 'whom he ſhall judge to merit them, to aboliſh 'the ſmaller penſions, and to increaſe thoſe that are

'too

'too small, in such manner as he shall judge proper. He shall also preside in the academy, without regard to rank, over all the members of it, whether honorary or otherwise; and nothing shall be done but by him: in the same manner as a general, who, in other respects, has no other rank than that of a gentleman, commands dukes and princes in an army, without any person taking offence at it [172].' CHAP. X. A. D. 1746.

As Frederick, from the beginning of his reign, had shewn himself to be a friend to toleration in matters of religion, the Roman Catholicks of Berlin were encouraged to apply to him this year, for permission to erect a church in that city. He accordingly readily granted their request, assigned them a convenient place for the purpose, gave them permission to erect as large a church as they pleased, with steeples and bells, and authorized them to receive contributions for the purpose from the Roman Catholicks throughout his dominions. He also promised, for himself and his successors, that the church so erected should never be converted to any other use, than for the celebration of divine worship, according to the rites of the Romish religion [173].

In the year 1746, Frederick appears chiefly to have resided at Potsdam. In the evenings he al-

[172] Oeuvres de Maupertuis, ut supra, p. 307, 309.

[173] Gent. Mag. vol. XVII, p. 66, 67.

CHAP. X. A. D. 1746.

ways had a concert, and afterwards generally ſupped with a ſelect party. Bielfeld was frequently of this number; they converſed with much freedom; and they often ſat up till a late hour. "When the "concert is over," ſays that writer, "we ſit down "to ſupper; the converſation is gay; and the king "is frequently ſurprized to hear the clock ſtrike, "two hours after midnight, when he thought he "had ſcarcely been an hour at table [174]."

[174] Letters, vol. II. p. 24, 25.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Frederick publiſhes his Memoirs of the Houſe of Brandenburgh, and his poem on the Art of War.—Some account of thoſe performances.—Journies made by the king.—Entertainments of the court, at his different country palaces.

CHAP. XI. A. D. 1747.

AS the king of Pruſſia, in the courſe of his ſtudies, had naturally been attentive to the hiſtory of his own family, and his own country, he was induced, from his deſire of obtaining accurate information on the ſubject, to draw up his MEMOIRES POUR SERVIR A L'HISTOIRE DE LA MAISON DE BRANDENBURGH. M. Hertzberg, who has ſince diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a very able miniſter of ſtate, but who was then a young man juſt come from the univerſity, was employed in collecting ſome of the materials [175]. Theſe Memoirs were afterwards printed at Berlin, and read, at different times, to the royal academy of ſciences and belles lettres. The firſt part was read at the royal academy on the firſt of June, 1747 [176], by M. Darget, member of the academy, and ſecretary to the king. The king's brothers, and his ſiſter the princeſs Amelia, were preſent on this occaſion [177]. An Engliſh tranſ-

[175] Memoire Hiſtorique ſur la derniere anne de la vie de Frederick, &c. p. 15.

[176] Oeuvres de Maupertuis, tom. III. p. 312. [177] Id. ibid.

lation

CHAP. XI. A. D. 1747.

lation of the MEMOIRS OF THE HOUSE OF BRANDENBURGH, has been published in two volumes, 12mo. the first volume in 1758, and the second in 1768. The king dedicated this work to his brother, the prince-royal of Prussia. In this dedication Frederick bestows high encomiums on that prince, and expresses himself in the following terms respecting the manner in which he had written his Memoirs: 'I have treated the subject,' says he, 'with freedom and impartiality, so as to exhibit 'the princes of your house in their real colours. 'The same pen, which has drawn the civil and 'military virtues of the great elector, has glanced 'at the foibles of the first king of Prussia, and those 'passions, which, in the order of Providence, con-'tributed afterwards to raise this house to its present 'pitch of grandeur. I have divested myself of 'all manner of prejudice, and considered princes, 'kings, relations, only as ordinary men. Far from 'being biassed by the weight of power, or from 'idolizing my ancestors, I have freely condemned 'their vices, because vice should find no patronage 'on the throne. I have praised virtue wherever 'I have found it, but at the same time have guard-'ed against that enthusiasm which it naturally in-'spires; to the end that nothing but truth, in her 'plain and native dress, should reign throughout 'this history.'

THE Memoirs of the House of Brandenburgh contain much valuable and curious information,

and are written with perſpicuity, ſpirit, and vivacity; but miſrepreſentations occaſionally occur, and there are ſome very exceptionable paſſages. The account given by him of the riſe of the reformation, is neither juſt nor candid, and is very unfavourable to the reformers. Speaking of JOHN HUSS, and the Bohemian Proteſtants, he ſays, 'Huſs was burnt at the council of Conſtance. His 'pretended martyrdom enflamed the zeal of his 'diſciples. The Bohemians, who were too dull a 'people to enter into the ſophiſtical diſputes of 'the Theologians, embraced this new ſect only 'from that ſpirit of independence and mutiny, which 'is ſo much the characteriſtic of this nation. Theſe 'new converts ſhook off the papal yoke, and made 'uſe of the liberty of their conſciences, as a cloak 'to cover the crime of their revolt [178].' Of the Reſtoration of Charles II. and the Revolution in 1688, he gives the following account: 'After the 'death of Cromwell, his ſon Richard, who was 'more a philoſopher than a politician, having re-'nounced the power that the protector had left 'him by his uſurpation, the Engliſh called with 'one voice Charles II. to the throne of his father. 'After his death, James II. ſucceeded him. Wil-'liam, ſtadtholder of Holland, who had married 'his eldeſt daughter, named Mary, made his ad-'vantage of the diſlike that the Engliſh nation had

CHAP. XI. A. D. 1747.

[178] Memoires pour ſervir a l'Hiſtoire de la Maiſon de Brandenburgh, tom. I. p. 27. edit. Lond. 1767.

'againſt

CHAP. XI. A. D. 1747.

'againſt their king, whoſe chief crime was that he 'was a Roman Catholic. He had formed, for a 'conſiderable time, a large party againſt that prince 'in England. That party began to ſhew itſelf ſoon 'after the death of the great elector; and it was 'then that the prince of Orange undertook to de-'throne his father-in-law, and he was then willing 'to owe only to his arms, that which his intrigues 'ſeemed too ſlowly to procure him. A Jew of 'Amſterdam, named Suaſſo, lent him two mil-'lions for this expedition; ſaying to him, "If "you ſucceed, I know you will repay me; if you "miſcarry, I am content to loſe the money." With 'this ſum William went over into England, de-'throned king James, ſubdued the oppoſite party, 'and became, in ſome meaſure, the lawful ſove-'reign of thoſe three kingdoms, by the approba-'tion of the people, who ſeemed to authorize his 'uſurpation [179].' This account of the Revolution, does not afford a very favourable ſpecimen of the accuracy, or fidelity, of Frederick's narrations.

THE account alſo given by the king of Pruſſia, in this work, of the attempt made in England to introduce the Exciſe-ſcheme, in the reign of his uncle, king George II. is not unworthy of attention. 'George II.' ſays he, 'had formed the ſcheme 'of rendering himſelf abſolute in Great Britain. 'This was an enterprize that could not be com-

[179] Memoires pour ſervir a l'Hiſtoire de la Maiſon de Brandenburgh, tom. I. p. 208, 209.

'paſſed

'passed by open force, but privately, and by in- CHAP.
'direct means. To introduce the Excise in Eng- A. D.
'land, and to enslave the nation, was one and the 1747.
'same thing. If the scheme succeeded, it would
'give the king a fixed and certain revenue, with
'which he might increase his army, and establish
'his power. Walpole having proposed the intro-
'duction of the excise to some members of parlia-
'ment, on whom he thought he might depend,
'they declared, that the pay they received from
'him was only to support the usual course of ab-
'surd measures, and not so extraordinary a project
'as that was. Notwithstanding these representa-
'tions, Walpole brought the affair into parliament,
'where he harangued with so much eloquence, as
'to carry his point, in spite of Pulteney, and the
'cabal which then opposed the court. His victory
'appeared so compleat, that the bill for the excise
'was carried by a great majority. The next day,
'an insurrection had nearly taken place in the city.
'The lords, and the principal merchants, addressed
'the king, demanding a suppression of the bill.
'Though care had been taken to surround the
'house with guards, the people gathered about it
'in great numbers. They filled the air with their
'seditious cries, and began to insult the king's of-
'ficers; so that they seemed to want nothing but
'a head to render the rebellion compleat. Wal-
'pole, who saw that the affair was becoming very
'serious, now thought that it was time to retreat.

'He

CHAP. XI. A. D. 1747.

'He immediately cancelled the bill, and ſallied 'out from the parliament-houſe, diſguiſed in an 'old cloak, and crying out, LIBERTY, LIBERTY, 'AND NO EXCISE! He found the king at St. 'James's, arming himſelf *cap-a-pe*; he had already 'put on the beaver that he wore at Malplaquet; 'he was trying on the ſword with which he had 'fought at Oudenarde; and was for putting him-'ſelf at the head of his guards, aſſembled in the 'court of the palace, in order to ſupport his ex-'ciſe-ſcheme with firmneſs. It was with great dif-'ficulty that Walpole could moderate his impe-'tuoſity; he repreſented to him, with all the ge-'nerous boldneſs of an Engliſhman, attached to 'his maſter, that this was no time for fighting, but 'for chooſing between the bill and the crown. In 'ſhort, the ſcheme of exciſe fell to the ground; 'and the king, greatly diſſatisfied with his parlia-'ment, began to diſtruſt his own authority, of 'which he had been in danger of making a very 'ſorrowful experiment [180].'

To the Memoirs of the Houſe of Brandenburgh four Diſſertations were added: I. On Superſtition and Religion. II. On manners, cuſtoms, induſtry, and the progreſs of the human underſtanding in the arts and ſciences. III. On the antient and modern government of Brandenburgh. IV. On the reaſons for the enacting and repealing of laws; of which I have taken ſome notice in the preceding

[180] Memoires de Brandenburgh, p. 359, 360, 361.

chapter.

chapter. At the close of the first of these dissertations, after speaking of the different sects of religion in Prussia, Frederick expresses himself in the following manner: 'All these sects live here in peace, 'and contribute alike to the prosperity of the state: 'for there is no religion which differs greatly from 'the rest with respect to morality. Hence they 'may be all equal to the government, which of 'course leaves every man to go to heaven which 'way he pleases. All that is required of him is, 'that he should be a good citizen. False zeal is a 'tyrant that depopulates provinces; toleration is a 'tender mother, that nourishes them, and makes 'them flourish [181]."

CHAP. XL. A. D. 1747.

About this time the king of Prussia also wrote his POEM ON THE ART OF WAR [182], in six books, which is his largest poetical production, and of which an English translation was published in 4to. in 1780. The FIRST book opens with an address to the prince of Prussia, followed by wishes, that the Prussian dominions might never be exposed to the calamities of war; an exhortation being, however, at the same time added, that if ever Prussia should be attacked by a proud and ambitious enemy, its kings and people should courageously unite together in defence of their country. The royal author afterwards proceeds to inculcate the

[181] Memoires de Brandenburgh, p. 459, 460.

[182] Memoire Historique sur la derniere annee de la vie, &c. p. 15, 16.

first

CHAP. XI. A. D. 1747.

first principles of the military art; he urges the neceſſity that the young ſoldier is under, of firſt learning to obey, that he may hereafter be qualified to command; he points out the importance of an exact diſcipline; and illuſtrates the different evolutions and manœuvres of the infantry and cavalry. He then applauds the military ſcience of the antient Greeks; SPARTA, he obſerves, was the cradle and the ſchool of warriors; and he celebrates MILTIADES, CIMON, EPAMINONDAS, and ALEXANDER the Great [183]. From the Greeks he proceeds to the Romans, of whoſe military ſkill he ſpeaks in the higheſt terms; and afterwards, among modern warriors, celebrates mareſchal TURENNE and prince EUGENE.

IN the SECOND book, Frederick treats of that important branch of the military art, the choice of an encampment, adapted to the particular circumſtances of the army, and to the deſigns of the commander. He celebrates the praiſes of FABIUS, HANNIBAL, LEONIDAS, and MONTECUCULLI; and he recommends to generals, that they ſhould regulate their conduct by that of the enemy, that they ſhould be vigilant, and ready to anticipate whatever may happen; that they ſhould take poſſeſſion of the moſt advantageous poſts, march with rapidity, ſeize every advantage, retreat without loſs,

[183] Oeuvres du Philoſophe de Sans-Souci, tom. II. p. 8. edit. Berlin, 1760, 12mo.

advance

advance readily and at the proper moment, and always be occupied in new deſigns [184].

THE THIRD book begins with a highly poetical deſcription of the temple of Mars; in which, among other allegorical perſonages, Experience holds a diſtinguiſhed place; and in this book he celebrates JULIUS CÆSAR, ALCIBIADES, PAULUS ÆMILIUS, SCIPIO, the prince of CONDE', VILLARS, the prince of ANHALT, GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, and his anceſtor the GREAT ELECTOR; and alſo enumerates ſome of the moſt ſplendid actions of prince EUGENE.

IN the FOURTH book, he treats of the art of fortifying and defending cities; and takes notice of the invention of gunpowder, and the alteration which that diſcovery, and the uſe of artillery, has made in the art of war, and particularly in the caſe of ſieges. He celebrates VAUBAN for his ſkill in the erection of fortifications; lays down rules for conducting ſieges; and gives an intereſting deſcription of the taking of Magdeburgh, and the maſſacre of its inhabitants; reprobating, with a juſt ſeverity, the infamous behaviour of Tilly, the Auſtrian general, on that occaſion.

IN the FIFTH book, Frederick treats of the method of ſecuring and connecting together the winter quarters; and he ſhews how important a part of the buſineſs of a general it is, to provide proper ſubſiſtence for his troops. In winter, he

[184] Oeuvres du Philoſophe de Sans-Souci, tom. II. p. 18, 19.

CHAP. XI. A. D. 1747.

also remarks, that the places of those soldiers, whose lives had been lost in the preceding campaign, should be supplied by new recruits; he shews the necessity that a general is under, of not being off his guard even during winter; and he points out the danger and dishonour of being surprized in winter quarters, by the example of Bournonville; who, having extended too much his quarters in Alsace, was suddenly attacked by Turenne, and driven on the other side of the Rhine; though he had a numerous army, the very flower of Germany. But he also exhibits more pleasing scenes: he paints the warrior, in the winter, returning to his home, revisiting his wife and children, and enjoying all the delights of conjugal and parental affection [185].

THE SIXTH book treats of battles; and in this book Frederick lays down such rules, as are most likely to ensure success to those generals who lead armies on to battle; and he illustrates his rules by some of the most famous battles in antient and in modern times. In the conduct of a battle he shews, that valour alone is not sufficient, but that prudence, foresight, and sagacity are necessary; and he particularly cautions his military readers against too much confidence and presumption. He also remarks, that battles should not be wantonly engaged in without prospect of advantage; but that a general should consider himself as the father of his

[185] Oeuvres du Philosophe de Sans-Souci, ut supra, p. 44, 45.

soldiers,

soldiers, and not sacrifice their lives unnecessarily. But, when an action becomes proper, every nerve is to be strained, every effort to be employed, in order to obtain the victory. He shews, that it is more advantageous to attack an enemy, than to wait to receive their attacks; that an able general should have the utmost self-possession in the midst of the hottest action; that he should be fertile in resources; and that when a battle is gained, the greatest care should be taken to make the proper advantage of it. Among other generals who are celebrated in this book, is his opponent prince CHARLES of LORRAIN, whose military science he highly applauds, and particularly that display which he made of it in his passage over the Rhine, in the sight of the French army [186].

CHAP. XI. A. D. 1747.

THE king of Prussia's poem on L'ART DE LA GUERRE contains many sound and important principles of the military art, adorned with the graces of poetry; but it is a singular circumstance, that in a poem on this subject, in which he has celebrated so many antient and modern generals, in which he has repeatedly bestowed very high encomiums on prince Eugene, and even mentioned the battle of Blenheim [187], he should with the most extreme caution have avoided making the least mention of our illustrious JOHN duke of MARLBOROUGH. This striking omission was very properly, and in a

[186] Oeuvres du Philosophe de Sans-Souci, ut supra, p. 59.

[187] Ibid. p. 56.

CHAP. XI. A. D. 1747.

manner juſtly ſarcaſtic, animadverted upon in the following paſſage in the Monthly Review [188]: 'It 'is ſomewhat remarkable, that in a poem treating 'of the art of war, and in which all the great com- 'manders of antient and modern times are occaſion- 'ally introduced, no heroes of Engliſh ſtory are ſo 'much as once mentioned, not even the glorious 'MARLBOROUGH; though the very generals he ſo 'frequently defeated have reſpectable places aſſigned 'them in this temple of Fame. It is not to be 'ſuppoſed that this ſilence, with reſpect to MARL- 'BOROUGH, proceeded from invidious motives; 'we rather think, that his Pruſſian majeſty conſi- 'dered HIM as a general who underſtood ONLY 'PART OF HIS PROFESSION, having never given 'any proof of his ſkill IN CONDUCTING A RETREAT.'

IN the year 1747, M. Bielfeld attended the king in journies to Sileſia, Magdeburgh, and Stettin, in each of which places Frederick reviewed his troops, examined into the ſtate of the police, and made regulations reſpecting government and the finances. The ſame gentleman accompanied the king, both that year and the preceding, in different parties of pleaſure at his ſeveral country palaces, of which he gives the following account: 'We have 'paſſed,' ſays he, 'part of the two laſt ſummers 'ſometimes at SANS-SOUCI, ſometimes at CHAR- 'LOTTENBURG, ſometimes at ORANGEBOURG, and 'ſometimes at RHEINSBERG. The queens, the

[188] Vol. LXV. p. 285.

'princes,

'princes, the princeſſes, and the greateſt part of 'thoſe gentlemen and ladies who belong to the 'court, have been of theſe parties. Every where 'we have found commodious and well-furniſhed 'apartments, agreeable entertainments, ſuperb gar- 'dens, balls, illuminations, fire-works, a royal table, 'and wine fit for the gods. The king has enjoyed 'a continual flow of ſpirits, and we have conſtantly 'regarded him as the author and ſupporter of all 'our joy. At Rheinſberg, his majeſty permitted 'us to act the tragedy of Britannicus, in which I 'played the part of Nero. Almoſt all the other 'performers were princes. The princeſs Amelia 'performed the part of Agrippina with amazing 'force and propriety [119].'

CHAP. XI. A. D. 1747.

DURING their ſtay at Charlottenbourg, a fire broke out in the palace, which did great damage, and endangered the lives of ſome of the royal family. The king had invited the queen conſort, and the queen dowager, to ſpend ſome weeks at Charlottenbourg; in conſequence of which the whole court, which conſiſted of two hundred and eighty perſons, including domeſtics, were lodged in the palace. When they had been there three days, a fire broke out at two o'clock in the morning, which raged with great violence, and continued ſeveral hours before it was extinguiſhed. In the midſt of the conſternation occaſioned by this accident, Bielfeld ſaw the king walking very com-

[119] Lettres de Bielfeld, tom. II. p. 242, 243.

CHAP. XI. A. D. 1747.

poſedly on the terrace; and going up to his majeſty, Frederick ſaid, "Well, it is a misfortune; "but, if nobody be hurt, no matter. The work-"men of Berlin will be the better for it." The damage made by this fire was eſtimated at twenty-five thouſand crowns. The king gave directions to M. Knobelſtorf, who was then ſuperintendant of his buildings, to put every thing, as nearly as poſſible, into the ſame ſtate in which it was before the fire. The court removed ſoon after to Orangebourg, where a variety of entertainments were exhibited, which appear to have been under the particular direction of the prince of Pruſſia [190].

THOUGH Frederick's adminiſtration of government naturally procured him, in many reſpects, the applauſe of his ſubjects, yet as he attended no place of public worſhip, kept much company with men whoſe ſentiments relative to religion were known to be licentious, and on topics of that kind ſometimes ſufficiently manifeſted his own ſceptical principles, reflexions againſt him on this account were occaſionally thrown out by ſome of the clergy. One inſtance of this is related by Voltaire, who alſo gives a ludicrous account of the king's behaviour on the occaſion. The clergyman of a village near Stettin, in a ſermon upon Herod, had made uſe of ſome expreſſions, by which it was underſtood, that he intended to reflect upon the king. 'He was, therefore, ſummoned,' ſays Voltaire, 'to

[190] Lettres de Bielfeld, tom. II. p. 244, 245, 247, 248.

'appear before the conſiſtory at Potſdam; though 'there was, in reality, no more a conſiſtory at 'court, than there was a maſs. The poor man 'came. The king put on a gown and band. M. 'D'Argens, author of the Jewiſh Letters, and ba- 'ron Pollnitz, who had changed his religion three 'or four times, dreſſed themſelves up in the ſame 'manner. A folio volume of Bayle's Dictionary 'was placed upon the table inſtead of a Bible, and 'the culprit was introduced by two grenadiers, and 'ſet before theſe three miniſters of the goſpel. "My brother," ſaid the king, "I demand of you, "in the name of God, who that Herod was, con- "cerning whom you preached?" "He who ſlew "the children," replied the ſimple prieſt. "But "was that Herod the firſt?" ſaid the king; "for "you ought to know there have been ſeveral He- "rods." The village prieſt was ſilent: he could 'not anſwer this queſtion. "How," continued 'the king, "have you dared to preach about He- "rod, and are ignorant both of him and his fa- "mily! We ſhall pardon you for this time, but "know, that we ſhall excommunicate you, if ever "hereafter you ſhould dare to preach againſt any "one whom you do not know." They then de- 'livered his ſentence and pardon to him, ſigned 'by three ridiculous names, invented on purpoſe. "We ſhall go to-morrow to Berlin," added the 'king; "and we will ſolicit forgiveneſs for you

CHAP. XI. A. D. 1747.

CHAP. XI. A. D. 1747.

" of our brotherhood. Do not fail to come and " find us out." Accordingly the prieſt went to ' Berlin, to ſeek for theſe three miniſters of the ' goſpel; but he was only laughed at; and the ' king, who had more humour than liberality, for- ' got to reimburſe him for the expences of his ' journey [191].'

[191] Memoires de M. de Voltaire, écrits par lui-même, edit. Lond. 1784. p. 81, 82, 83.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Frederick appoints M. Bielfeld ſuperintendant of all the univerſities in his dominions.—The king's attention to the intereſts of his ſubjects, and the embelliſhment of his capital.—He maintains the right of his ſubjects to navigate the ſeas, without interruption from other powers at war.—His repreſentations on that ſubject to the States-general, and to the court of Great Britain.—Conteſt between the king of Pruſſia and his Britannick majeſty, concerning the property of Eaſt Frieſland.—Frederick interpoſes in the diſputes between the courts of Ruſſia and Sweden.—He receives a viſit from mareſchal Saxe at Potſdam.

CHAP. XII. A. D. 1747.

IN the courſe of the year 1747, the king of Pruſſia conferred on M. BIELFELD [D] the office of ſuperintendant of all the univerſities in his dominions [192]. Theſe were HALLE in Saxony, FRANCK-

[D] Baron BIELFELD was born at Hamburgh, in the year 1711. Some of his earlier years were ſpent at Leyden; and in 1738, he became acquainted with the prince-royal of Pruſſia. He ſoon after entered into the prince's ſervice, and reſided with him at Rheinſberg; and, after his acceſſion, was made ſecretary of legation, and attended count Trouchſes in his embaſſy to the king of Great Britain. In 1741, he attended the king of Pruſſia in Sileſia; and the ſame year he tranſlated into the Ger-

[192] Lettres de Bielfeld, tom. II. p. 253, 254.

man

CHAP. XII. A. D. 1747. FRANCKFORT on the Oder, KONIGSBERG in Pruſſia, DUYSBOURG, and LINGEN. And on the king's birth-

man language Monteſquieu's treatiſe on the cauſes of the grandeur and declenſion of the Romans. In 1745, he was appointed preceptor to prince Ferdinand, the king's youngeſt brother; and beſides his office of ſuperintendant of all the univerſities in the Pruſſian dominions, he was alſo made director of the hoſpital of Berlin, and had occaſionally the management of the theatres. He married a lady of Halle in Saxony, who was poſſeſſed of a large fortune, in 1748; and it was then that the king of Pruſſia conferred on him the dignity of a baron; after which he took a large houſe at Berlin, and reſided there ſome years. But in 1755, he quitted the Pruſſian court, and went to reſide at Treben, a pleaſant country ſeat, near Altenburgh, in Saxony. Here he paſſed his time in an agreeable retirement, till the ravages of war compelled him to leave his houſe, and to take ſhelter in Hamburgh; for that, he obſerved, was then almoſt the only place in Germany, to which the war was not extended.

In 1759, baron Bielfeld publiſhed his *Political Inſtitutes*, in two volumes, 4to. at the Hague. In the firſt of theſe volumes the author treats of every thing that regards domeſtic polity, and the regulations neceſſary to the peace, proſperity, and internal ſecurity of a ſtate. In the ſecond, he treats entirely of foreign affairs, the comparative ſtrength and greatneſs of different nations, their alliances, and the moſt material circumſtances relating to their adminiſtration both in peace and war. Some parts of this work, as may eaſily be conceived from the baron's connections, were not very conſonant to juſt ſentiments of political freedom. Among others, to whom he ſent copies of his work, one was Voltaire, who, before he had read the book, ſent him a letter returning him thanks for it, in which is the following paſſage: 'Teach princes to do juſtice. That 'will be a conſolation to thoſe who are liable to ſuffer from 'their ambition, from their caprices, from their injuſtice, and

'from

birth-day, this year, a panegyric was pronounced by M. MAUPERTUIS, as president, in the royal academy, CHAP. XII. A. D. 1747.

'from their wickedness. Mankind love to hear of the law of 'nations. They are like the sick, to whom men talk of an 'universal remedy. Have you not said something about Li'berty? I imagine you enjoy it to your wish at Hamburgh. 'For my own part, I enjoy it effectually; and have, for these 'six years past, been completely inebriated with the enjoyment. 'I am in the possession of free lands on the borders of France, 'and find myself in a state of perfect independency. Do you 'not remember the time when you were not permitted to go 'to your own estate? That was certainly contrary to the law 'of nations.'

When peace was concluded, baron Bielfeld returned again to his country-seat near Altenburgh; and in 1763, were published, at the Hague, in two volumes, 12mo. *Lettres familieres et autres, de Monsieur le Baron de Bielfeld.* These letters were afterwards published in German, and in English, and have been frequently referred to in the course of this work. They are extremely entertaining, and are very agreeably written; but there are some errors in the dates, and a few other inaccuracies. In 1768, he also published, in two volumes, 8vo. at Leyden, *Amusemens Dramatiques*; a collection of comedies, in which the manners of the German courts seem to be very justly delineated. He was likewise author of 'The Elements of Universal Erudition, 'containing an analytical abridgment of the sciences, polite 'arts, and belles lettres:' of which an English translation was published, in three volumes, 8vo. by Dr. Hooper, in the year 1770. In the preface to this work, the baron says, 'After la'bouring for many years amidst the great world, I am con'vinced, that all is vanity; and that at a certain period of life, 'the greatest happiness which a man can aspire after, consists 'in living for himself, for a few real friends, for the muses, 'and for the comforts of retirement.'

Baron

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academy, on FREDERICK, and on his attention to literature, ſcience, the arts, and the general intereſts

Baron Bielfeld died at Altenburgh in the year 1770, aged fifty-nine. He had ſeveral children by his wife, who died ſome time before him; but only two of his ſons ſeem to have ſurvived him. He appears to have been a man of amiable character and manners, and had a much greater averſion to war than his royal maſter. In one of his letters, dated from Treben, Sept. 20, 1756, ſpeaking of ſome Pruſſian troops who were arrived in that neighbourhood, he ſays, 'It is reported, that 'theſe military gentry are going againſt Dreſden; but it ſeems 'uncertain whether they will enter Saxony or Bohemia. God 'grant that they may go far from hence! for the ſound of war 'is ſo hateful to my ears, that I would fly to the uttermoſt 'parts of the earth to avoid it.' In another letter he ſays, 'What a horrible evil is war! If it procures to heroes an opportunity of adorning their brows with laurels, thoſe laurels are 'conſtantly ſtained with human blood, which in my eyes tarniſhes all their luſtre: and in what diſtreſsful ſituations are 'many peaceable citizens placed in conſequence of it! If I 'were to make a dictionary, I think I ſhould not allow the 'word *war* any place in it.' And, in a third letter, the baron makes the following obſervations: 'If men were born tigers, 'if their ſubſiſtence depended upon their murderous exploits, 'if they were compelled to kill, and to deſtroy each other, for 'their wants, and for their mutual advantage, then I ſhould 'find a conſiderable degree of merit in warlike qualities, and 'a hero would appear in my eyes a very reaſonable being. But 'as Divine Providence has diſpenſed to the whole human race, 'all that is neceſſary to the ſupport and ſuſtenance of every 'man; and as reaſon, the law of nature, and the poſitive laws 'of different nations, have granted a portion of theſe goods 'to every individual of ſociety; ſo that no man can, ſtrictly 'ſpeaking, be ſaid to die for want; and as the abundance of

'the

eſts of his kingdom [193]. To all theſe objects the king, indeed, paid great regard; as he did alſo to manufactures, commerce, and agriculture. He likewiſe employed much pains and expence in embelliſhing BERLIN and POTSDAM, in both which places many new ſtreets were built, and very handſome edifices erected, under his own immediate direction. CHAP. XII. A. D. 1747.

AMONG other meaſures which Frederick adopted for the benefit of his ſubjects, one was, maintain-

'the neceſſaries of life depends on the intercourſe of mankind, 'and the calm of peace, it ſeems matter of aſtoniſhment to me, 'that peace is not regarded as inviolable, that war ſhould ever 'take place among men, and that the military profeſſion ſhould 'not be baniſhed from the earth. The more I think upon the 'ſubject, the leſs am I able to diſcover, that natural diſpoſi-'tions, or acquired talents, for killing and exterminating our 'fellow creatures, are to be conſidered as eſtimable qualities; 'or that what the folly of mankind has decorated with the 'ſpecious names of valour, and of heroiſm, has any juſt claim 'to honour or applauſe. The whole is a kind of illuſion, 'with which the great deceive the inferior claſſes of mankind, 'in order to make them ſerve as the inſtruments of their paſ-'ſions, and eſpecially of their ambition.'—'What ſight can be 'more horrid, than that of a country ravaged by war! where 'nothing is to be ſeen but fire and ſword, terror, confuſion, 'deſpair, and death. What ſight, on the contrary, can be more 'pleaſing, than that of a country which is the reſidence of 'peace; where every citizen enjoys the fruit of his labours, 'where all talents are employed and encouraged, where arts, 'ſciences, and commerce flouriſh, and where the calm delights 'of ſocial life are enjoyed with chearfulneſs and innocence.'

[193] Oeuvres de Maupertuis, tom. III. p. 271, &c.

ing,

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ing, with great firmneſs, their right to navigate the ſeas, without interruption from other powers at war: and hence he is conſidered, by count Hertzberg [194], as the firſt author of that ſyſtem of armed maritime neutrality, which has ſince been aſſerted by other nations. A memorial was preſented on this ſubject to the States-general, by M. Ammon, his Pruſſian majeſty's ambaſſador at the Hague, on the eleventh of December, 1747; in which he required of their high mightineſſes, that they ſhould give poſitive and ſtrict orders to their ſubjects, not to moleſt the ſhips of his Pruſſian majeſty's ſubjects, on pretence of viſiting them, or upon any pretext whatſoever; but to let them proceed freely on their voyages, on the bare exhibition of the paſſports and papers, which captains of men of war and privateers were authorized to demand at ſea [195]. On the 8th of January following, a memorial was preſented, by the Pruſſian reſident in London, to the earl of Cheſterfield, then ſecretary of ſtate, in which it was obſerved, that his Pruſſian majeſty had juſt reaſon to expect, from the declarations made by his Britannick majeſty's miniſters, that reſpect would have been paid to his flag, during the war which then ſubſiſted between Great Britain, France, and Spain; but that, on the contrary, though his Pruſſian majeſty's ſubjects had

[194] Mémoire Hiſtorique ſur la dernière annè de la vie, &c. p. 16.

[195] Gent. Mag. vol. XVII. p. 569, 570.

never

never deviated from the regulations of the commerce allowed to neutral nations, yet the Engliſh men of war, or privateers, had unjuſtly taken Pruſſian veſſels, ſeveral of which were detained in the ports of England. His majeſty, therefore, required, that the commanders of Engliſh men of war, and privateers, might be enjoined, under ſevere penalties, to reſpect his flag, and to leave navigation free to the veſſels of his ſubjects, without troubling or moleſting them under pretext of ſearch or viſit, and content themſelves with the bare exhibition of the paſſports and other papers, of which captains of men of war, and privateers, were authorized by cuſtom to demand the inſpection. A reply to this memorial was returned by the earl of Cheſterfield, in which his lordſhip obſerved, that his Britannick majeſty never intended to occaſion the leaſt obſtruction to the navigation of the ſubjects of the king of Pruſſia, ſo long as they carried on their trade in a lawful manner, and conformably to the antient uſage eſtabliſhed and acknowledged among neutral powers. But his Pruſſian majeſty could not but know, that there were treaties of commerce actually ſubſiſting between Great Britain and certain neutral ſtates; and that, by means of the engagements formerly contracted on both ſides, every thing relative to their reciprocal trade was fully ſtated and regulated. At the ſame time it did not appear, that any treaty of that nature exiſted at preſent, or ever did exiſt, between his Britannick

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tannick majeſty and the king of Pruſſia; though that had never hindered the Pruſſian ſubjects from being favoured in England, with reſpect to their navigation, as much as other neutral nations. This being the caſe, his Britannick majeſty took it for granted, that the intention of the king of Pruſſia could not be to require him to make diſtinctions, or to give a preference to the Pruſſian ſubjects. His Pruſſian majeſty, it was added, was alſo too well acquainted with affairs in general, not to know, that there were eſtabliſhed laws in the government of England, which could not be departed from; and that if it even ſhould ſo happen, that the Engliſh ſhips ſhould take upon them to do any injuſtice to the trading ſubjects of the king of Pruſſia, there was a tribunal in England, the high court of Admiralty, to which they had a right to apply, and to make their complaints. The judicial proceedings of that court, it was farther ſaid, had been irreproachable, and without blemiſh; as was manifeſt from ſeveral examples, wherein neutral ſhips, unlawfully taken, had been reſtored to the proprietors with coſts and damages [196]. But this anſwer was not ſatisfactory to the king of Pruſſia, who afterwards repeated his demand, and adopted other meaſures, in order to ſecure a free navigation to his ſubjects.

WHEN plenipotentiaries were ſent from the different powers at war to Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748,

[196] Lond. Mag. for 1748, p. 39.

in

in order to treat of a general peace, the king of Pruſſia alſo ſent there M. Ammon, as his miniſter; and he obtained the guarantee of all the contracting powers to his Pruſſian majeſty's poſſeſſion of Sileſia [197]. But ſome time after a diſpute took place, between his Britannick majeſty and the king of Pruſſia, concerning the property of Eaſt Frieſland. Frederick had entered upon it, as heir to the laſt poſſeſſor, and received the inveſtiture from the elector of Bavaria. But the king of Great Britain, as elector of Hanover, had pretenſions to the ſame inheritance; and, therefore, his miniſter delivered a memorial to the diet of the empire, aſſembled at Ratiſbon, demanding that the king of Pruſſia, as elector of Brandenburgh, ſhould be referred to the deciſion of the Aulic council, in regard to his claim to the eſtates of Eaſt Frieſland. It was accordingly determined by the electoral college, that the diſpute ſhould be referred to the deciſion of the Aulic council. But Frederick, being already in poſſeſſion, refuſed to ſubmit his claim to the determination of that, or any other tribunal. Several other memorials were afterwards publiſhed by both the parties; but the king of Great Britain at length gave up the point in diſpute between him and his nephew, with whom he was unwilling to have any farther conteſt.

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[197] Memoire Hiſtorique, par le comte de Hertzberg, ut ſupra, p. 16, 17.

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THOUGH peace was now re-eſtabliſhed between the different powers of Europe, yet, in the year 1749, apprehenſions were entertained, that the public tranquility would be again diſturbed, by a rupture between Ruſſia and Sweden. The preceding year a treaty of alliance had been concluded between the king of Sweden and the king of Pruſſia, in which the court of France had concurred; and it was given out by the court of Peterſburgh, that the czarina had obtained information, that a ſcheme was formed, after the death of the preſent king of Sweden, who was far advanced in age, and in a declining ſtate of health, to change the preſent form of government, and to inveſt the prince his ſucceſſor, who was married to a ſiſter of the king of Pruſſia, with deſpotic power. The empreſs of Ruſſia profeſſed to be of opinion, that if the king of Sweden ſhould thus be poſſeſſed of arbitrary power, and be guided by the councils of France and Pruſſia, he might become a very troubleſome and dangerous neighbour to her in the Baltick [198]. Reports were, indeed, propagated, that the king of Pruſſia had formed a ſcheme of making a revolution in the ſtate of the North, by recovering to Sweden the provinces now poſſeſſed by the Ruſſians; and that as a compenſation to him for his aſſiſtance to the Swedes, Swediſh Pomerania, and the iſle of Rugen, were to be given up to him,

[198] Smollet's Hiſt. of England from the Revolution, publiſhed as a Continuation of Hume, vol. III. p. 249.

when

when Livonia ſhould be recovered from the Ruſſians [199]. Whatever there might be in theſe reports, the Ruſſian miniſter at Stockholm delivered a memorial to that court, in which it was obſerved, that a general rumour prevailed of a deſign to change, after the king's death, the preſent form of government in Sweden. Her imperial majeſty, it was ſaid, was deſirous to live in a good underſtanding with the neighbouring powers, particularly with the crown of Sweden; but if there was a deſign to change the preſent form of government, and thereby to endanger the tranquility of the North, her imperial majeſty could not diſpenſe with herſelf from taking cognizance of an affair of ſuch conſequence to all the Northern powers. She was the rather obliged to do this, becauſe it had been expreſsly ſtipulated, in an article of the treaty of peace concluded at Nyſtadt, that Ruſſia ſhould endeavour, by all poſſible means, to prevent any alteration whatſoever in the form of government, which had been univerſally approved and ſworn to by the ſtates of Sweden. As this article had been confirmed by all the treaties ſince ſigned with Sweden, her imperial majeſty of all the Ruſſias could not behold with indifference, or permit, an alteration to be made in the government of Sweden; but, on the contrary, would find herſelf under a neceſſity to take the moſt proper meaſures for the

[199] Gent. Mag. vol. XIX. p. 94.

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preſervation of the tranquility of the North [200]. The empreſs of Ruſſia alſo recruited her armies, repaired her fortifications, and ordered a ſtrong body of forces to advance towards the frontiers of Finland; and the Ruſſian miniſter then delivered another memorial to the court of Stockholm, in which it was ſtated, that the empreſs of Ruſſia being determined to maintain the form of government, in the manner in which it was at preſent eſtabliſhed in Sweden, and of which her imperial majeſty was guarantee, ſhe ſhould cauſe her troops to enter Finland, leſt any meaſure ſhould be adopted, on the death of the reigning king, to change the preſent conſtitution of Sweden. But the Ruſſian troops, it was added, were to continue in Finland on the footing of friends; and they were to obſerve an exact diſcipline, and to live entirely at their own expence, till ſuch time as the new king of Sweden was proclaimed, and he had made aſſurance by oath, that he would maintain the preſent form of the government, and obſerve its treaties [201]. It was replied on the part of the court of Stockholm, that the prince, ſucceſſor to the throne of Sweden, had already given public and ſufficient aſſurances, that his royal highneſs would not ſwerve or depart from his agreements, or ever undertake any thing to the leaſt prejudice of the rights and liberties of the kingdom. But that if, notwithſtanding all theſe ſolemn aſſurances, the empreſs

[200] London Mag. for 1749, p. 166. [201] Ibid. p. 483.

of

of Ruſſia ſhould perſiſt, on any pretence whatſoever, in the intention of making her troops paſs the frontiers of Finland, his Swediſh majeſty could not otherwiſe regard ſuch a ſtep, than as an act of hoſtility, and an open rupture; and he ſhould conſider himſelf as juſtly authorized to employ the means, which God had put into his power, for the defence of his dominions [202].

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THE king of Pruſſia now began openly to oppoſe the proceedings of the empreſs of Ruſſia with regard to Sweden. He declared, that he conſidered peace and union, among the princes of Europe, as the greateſt happineſs to which they could aſpire; and he had, therefore, greatly rejoiced, to ſee the foundations of it laid at Aix-la-Chapelle, by the contracting parties in the late treaty of peace. There was nothing, he ſaid, wanting, in order to render this happineſs univerſal, but the diſperſion of the clouds which ſeemed to be gathering in the North. He had endeavoured to prevent their effects; but thoſe clouds were ſtill lowring, and the extraordinary movements made in the dominions of ſome neighbouring powers, the armaments and preparations which they were carrying on, ſufficiently proved that thoſe powers were filled with great apprehenſions reſpecting the interruption of the public tranquility. In ſuch a ſtate of things, the king thought it neceſſary that he ſhould put his army in a condition to act, in order to keep at

[202] London Mag. for the year 1749, p. 483.

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a diſtance all thoſe unforeſeen dangers, which might diſturb the repoſe of his faithful ſubjects [203]. After making this public declaration, the king of Pruſſia alſo wrote a letter to his uncle, the king of Great Britain, in which he obſerved to him, that his Britannick majeſty's intereſt and his own were the ſame with regard to the tranquility of the North; and, therefore, he hoped that his Britannick majeſty would concur with him, in adopting ſuch meaſures as were neceſſary for the preſervation of peace. He complained of the threatenings that had been thrown out by the court of Peterſburgh againſt Sweden, and took notice of the ſuſpicions that were entertained of the deſigns of the Swediſh court, which he ſtated to be ill grounded. Of the dangerous projects which had been imputed to Sweden againſt her neighbours, he remarked, that his Britannick majeſty's "diſcernment was too quick, not to "perceive the falſity of it at the very firſt glance;" and with reſpect to the ſuppoſed deſign of changing the preſent form of government in Sweden, he thought that the declaration lately made on that ſubject, by the prince ſucceſſor and the ſenate, was ſufficiently ſatisfactory. He obſerved farther, that he had lately made a defenſive alliance with Sweden, to which France had acceded; but that alliance, he ſaid, did not turn upon innovations. It obliged, however, both the court of France, and himſelf, to maintain the ſucceſſion eſtabliſhed in Sweden,

[203] London Mag. for 1749, p. 143.

and mutually to defend themſelves againſt any that would attack them. He beſought his Britannick majeſty to employ his credit and good offices, in order to bring Ruſſia and Sweden to ſuch eclairciſſements, as might prove equally ſalutary to both; and he was, he ſaid, perſuaded, that his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, who had the peace of Europe, and the tranquility of the North, as much at heart as their Britannick and Pruſſian majeſties, would powerfully contribute to maintain it by uniting his efforts with theirs [204]. An ambaſſador extraordinary was afterwards ſent to Peterſburgh from the king of Great Britain, who declared to the empreſs's miniſter, that in caſe of a rupture between Ruſſia and Sweden, occaſioned by the hoſtilities commenced by the former power, his Britannick majeſty would conſider Ruſſia as the aggreſſor, and the empreſs could not expect that he ſhould ſupply her with the ſuccours, which he was engaged by treaty to furniſh for her defence, in caſe ſhe ſhould be attacked. The miniſters of France and Pruſſia alſo gave the empreſs to underſtand, that they ſhould punctually fulfil their engagements with the court of Stockholm, if the Ruſſian troops ſhould enter the Swediſh territories of Finland. After ſome farther repreſentations, the empreſs declared herſelf ſatisfied with reſpect to Sweden; but ſhe was extremely diſpleaſed with the conduct of the king of Pruſſia on this occaſion, and with the ſtyle of

CHAP. XII. A. D. 1749.

[204] Gent. Mag. vol. XIX. p. 174, 175.

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his memorials; and from this time the czarina, and her miniſters, appear to have conceived a great and laſting animoſity againſt him.

IF a deſign was really formed at this time to deprive the Swedes of their liberties, which is not improbable, the ſcheme appears to have been fruſtrated by the interpoſition of Ruſſia, and the vigilance of the Swediſh ſenate; and, perhaps, partly by the temper of the prince ſucceſſor, who, though he might be prevailed upon to engage in ſuch a project, ſeems to have been of too mild a temper to proſecute it with firmneſs. But a ſimilar ſcheme has ſince been ſucceſsfully put in execution, by a ſon of the then prince-royal of Sweden, and of Ulrica, ſiſter to the king of Pruſſia; and the form of government which is now eſtabliſhed in Sweden is in a very high degree deſpotic [E]. It appears

[E] Mr. COXE has endeavoured to ſhew, that the preſent government of Sweden is not deſpotic, and that "his Swediſh "majeſty, though now poſſeſſed of very great prerogatives, is "yet in many important inſtances a limited monarch." *Travels into Poland, Ruſſia, Sweden, &c.* vol. II. p. 369. But the reaſonings of this ingenious writer upon this ſubject appear to me to be extremely unſatisfactory; and I cannot, with him, applaud "the judicious and ſpirited conduct of his preſent "majeſty" of Sweden, in the revolution of 1772. On the contrary, by that tranſaction, the liberties of the Swediſh nation, which the king had ſworn in the moſt ſolemn manner to maintain, were ſo completely over-turned, that, in my apprehenſion, it deſerves to be ſpoken of in terms very different from thoſe of approbation and applauſe. It is true, that there are ſome

appears extremely unfavourable to the intereſts of free ſtates, that their princes ſhould intermarry in the

ſome limitations of the power of the king ſtated, in the articles of the preſent Swediſh conſtitution; but theſe limitations are more in form, than in reality. The king of Sweden, Mr. Coxe obſerves, can make no new laws by his own authority, as the conſtitution now ſtands; but if he cannot make new laws, the Swedes have no ſecurity againſt his acting without law. He is not to levy new taxes without convening the ſtates, and obtaining their conſent; but the preſent taxes are made perpetual, he enjoys a fixed revenue, and has the entire diſpoſal of the public money; and if the country be invaded, he may levy new taxes by his own authority.

Few governments, excepting thoſe in the Eaſt, are poſſeſſed of power ſo entirely unlimited, as Mr. Coxe ſuppoſes that of Sweden ſhould, in order to give it a juſt title to the denomination of deſpotic. Upon an accurate inquiry it will be found, that there are ſome limitations of the power of the prince even in France and in Turkey. But the king of Sweden, by the preſent conſtitution, has the ſole power of convening and diſſolving the ſtates, and is not obliged to aſſemble them at any ſtated period; and he has the entire diſpoſal of the army, the navy, and of all employments civil and military. By the new conſtitution a ſenate is, indeed, appointed, conſiſting of ſeventeen members, comprehending the great officers of the crown, and the governor of Pomerania; and they are required to give their advice in all the affairs of the ſtate, WHENEVER THE KING SHALL DEMAND IT. But though they are obliged to give their advice, he is not obliged to follow it, unleſs it be agreeable to his own inclinations. In ſome few inſtances, however, in the negociations of peace, truces, and alliances, the king is bound to follow the opinion of the ſenators, in caſe they are unanimous. But, as Mr. Coxe himſelf obſerves, "as it is "ſcarcely poſſible that ſeventeen ſenators, appointed, and re-

"movable

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the families of deſpotic monarchs. Such connections tend too much to increaſe that propenſity to aggrandize their power, which is natural to princes. The influence of wives, and of mothers, is well known to be conſiderable; and ſuch marriages may afford plauſible pretexts to deſpotic ſovereigns, to interfere in conteſts between free ſtates and their princes; which is not often likely to prove beneficial to the rights of mankind.

" movable, by his majeſty, ſhould be unanimous in their op-
" poſition to him, we may fairly allow the king to have the
" command of the ſenate."

Mr. Coxe, however, ſuppoſes, that as the Swediſh conſtitution now ſtands, " emergencies muſt occur, which may " render it neceſſary to convene" the aſſembly of the ſtates. But theſe emergencies may occur very ſeldom; and, when they do, be productive of very little effect. As the preſent king, ſince the revolution of 1772, aſſembles the ſtates only when he pleaſes, he was near ſix years, after that event, before he aſſembled them again. They then began to make ſome oppoſition to his adminiſtration. What was the reſult? He ſummoned the ſtates to the palace, made them a ſpeech, diſſolved them, and they have not been ſuffered to aſſemble ſince.

Under ſuch a form of government, no real conſtitutional freedom can be enjoyed by the ſubjects of it; and, therefore, notwithſtanding the apparent limitations of the power of the king, the preſent government of Sweden may juſtly be conſidered as in a high degree deſpotic. The former conſtitution of the Swediſh government had in it conſiderable defects; but it is greatly to be regretted, that a brave and reſpectable nation, as the Swedes are, ſhould not have found means to remedy thoſe defects, without ſubmitting to ſuch an exorbitant extenſion of the power of their prince, as has ſcarcely left them even the ſhadow of liberty.

IN

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In the year 1749, the celebrated mareſchal count de Saxe paid a viſit to the king of Pruſſia at Potſdam. The merits of this great general were well known to Frederick, who received him with all the honours due to his rank and military talents, and expreſſed great ſatisfaction at having ſo illuſtrious a viſiter. Count Algarotti, who was at Potſdam at the time, ſpeaking of the interview between the king and the mareſchal, ſays, "It put us in mind "of the meeting of Scipio and Hannibal[205]." Frederick exerciſed ſome of his troops before count Saxe, and was particularly ſolicitous to exhibit the excellencies of his cavalry, which had been trained and greatly improved under his own directions [F].

'He

[205] Letters military and political, p. 19.

[F] The Pruſſian cavalry had been greatly improved by the attention and care of general Seidlitz, who was a brave, experienced, and ſkilful officer; but much of their excellence they derived from the king himſelf, and from improvements in their diſcipline and exerciſe which he ſuggeſted. Count Algarotti informs us, that, among other refinements in diſcipline, it was one day propoſed to ſome of the cavalry officers, of the moſt conſummate ſkill in their profeſſion, to march a large body of horſe towards an enemy quite in a new manner. The enemy were to be ſuppoſed in ſight, but a little either to the right or to the left. The common method is, to wheel a quarter of a circle, and march ſtraight forward; then, as ſoon as they are in a line with him, to wheel another quarter of a circle, and again march forward. Theſe frequent wheelings, and expoſing the flanks to the enemy, did not pleaſe the king. He wanted them to march obliquely, to croſs over the ſhorteſt way towards the enemy, and, what is of the utmoſt conſequence, not to ſhew their

CHAP. XII. A. D. 1749.

'He manœuvred,' ſays Algarotti, 'the ſquadron 'of guards before the count, which, at one time, 'drawn up cloſe, exhibited the appearance of a 'rock; at another, that of a cloud, ſcattered along 'the plain.'—'The beauty of it was, that, in the 'charge on full gallop, one horſe's head was not a 'foot beyond another. The line was ſo exactly 'ſtraight, that Euclid himſelf could not have found 'fault with it [206].'—'The count obſerving the 'regularity and ſpirit, the agility and ſteadineſs, of 'the manœuvres of the Pruſſian cavalry, could not 'reſtrain himſelf from paying ſeveral compliments

their flank to him. This being propoſed to ſome old officers, it did not meet with their approbation. Why? Becauſe, they ſaid, it was a thing that had never either been done, or thought of. "It has been thought of," ſaid the king, "and it ſhall "be done." The horſemen, it was ſaid, muſt all be taken to the riding-ſchool, and drilled for the purpoſe. "They ſhall," ſaid the king. It was then added, that the horſes muſt be drilled too. "So ſhall the horſes," replied Frederick. It was then obſerved, that ſeveral would get broken limbs before they would be able to perform this manœuvre. "What ſignifies "that," ſaid the king, "if it ſhould be the means of gaining "a victory?"—'The experiment was tried,' ſays Algarotti, 'firſt with a few, afterwards with a larger number; and ſucceed-'ed ſo well, that, not long after, I ſaw ſeveral ſquadrons 'traverſe a piece of ground, that was none of the ſmootheſt, 'with as much eaſe as a Spaniſh *genet* would caper from one ſide 'of the riding-ſchool to the other.' *Letters military and political*, p. 224, 225.

[206] Letters military and political, p. 5, 6.

'to

'to its inſtitutor; which could not have been very 'diſpleaſing to him [207].' CHAP. XII. A. D. 1749.

MARESCHAL SAXE continued ſome time at Potſdam; and, during his ſtay there, the king and he met at leaſt twice a day, at dinner and ſupper, in the palace of SANS-SOUCI. Frederick ſometimes uſed to ſend for his gueſt, and his train, in open carriages, beautifully ornamented; upon which it was remarked, that the king had judged rightly, in putting the mareſchal and his train into triumphal chariots. In anſwer to this obſervation, it was replied by the count de Frize, who was one of the mareſchal's train, "We are greatly obliged "to his majeſty; but, happily, we are in a place "where thoſe chariots are in plenty [208].

Count Algarotti ſays, 'I have often heard the 'king and the mareſchal diſcourſe on military 'topics, at the entertainments given by his majeſty, 'where I might be ſaid *epulis accumbere divûm*, and 'ſeemed to be attending at Petrarch's TRIMUPH OF 'FAME. The moſt eminent commanders paſſed in 'review before them; and I may ſay, with truth, 'that their merits were very nicely ſcrutinized. 'They ſometimes diſcuſſed the different orders of 'battle; among which they did not forget the 'COLUMN. They agreed, as far as I can remember, that ſuch an order was rather calculated for 'defence, than for acting offenſively; that the only 'occaſion on which it can attack, with any proſpect

[207] Letters military and political, p. 19. [208] Ibid. p. 20.

'of

CHAP. XII. A. D. 1749.

'of ſucceſs, is when the enemy is entrenched, as 'experience has frequently demonſtrated. The 'ſtrength of the column conſiſting in its bulk and 'ſolidity, in its weight and ſhock, it breaks through 'whatever ſtands in its way; and the enemy, who 'waits its attack in the trenches, gives it an oppor-'tunity of acting with all its advantages. Having 'forced its way into one part or more of the enemy's 'lines, it divides them into two or more bodies, 'and prevents them from joining or ſupporting each 'other: but, when engaged in the open field, which 'will oftener happen, the column, on account of 'its ſmall extent in front, may be ſurrounded by the 'light-armed troops, and incloſed like the wedge 'of the antients, falling into the *forceps*. Though 'ſurrounded, it can, indeed, make head on all 'ſides, and defend itſelf admirably; but yet it loſes 'the advantage of attacking, which ſhould always 'be the object of a commander, when his force 'will admit of it.'—'From all which, the count 'concluded, that his friend FOLARD [G] was wrong, 'in thinking the column the moſt perfect and 'ſucceſsful military order in all caſes, and in every 'ſituation.' "But he was not wrong," ſaid the king, "in his prognoſtic reſpecting count SAXE,

[G] Count SAXE had received inſtructions in the military art from the chevalier FOLARD, celebrated for his treatiſes on the art of war, who had predicted the future eminence of his pupil.

"when

" when in the defender of Crachnick he foreſaw " the conqueror of Flanders [209]."

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WHEN mareſchal Saxe departed from Potſdam, the king, at taking leave of him, preſented him with his picture, and a ſnuff box, richly ſet with diamonds [210]. This great general, who was in full health at the time of his viſiting the king of Pruſſia, and poſſeſſed of a very robuſt conſtitution, lived only to the next year. He was carried off, by a putrid fever, after an illneſs of nine days, on the 30th of November, 1750, in the fifty-fifth year of his age. The French king ſent M. De Senac, his firſt phyſician, to attend him in his illneſs. That gentleman was greatly attached to count SAXE, and had followed him in four campaigns. The mareſchal met death with the utmoſt fortitude; but ſaid to his friend the phyſician, juſt before he expired, DOCTOR, LIFE IS BUT A DREAM; MINE HAS BEEN A FINE ONE, BUT IT HAS BEEN SHORT [211].

[209] Letters military and political, p. 21, 23.

[210] Gent. Mag. vol. XIX. p. 334.

[211] Monthly Review, vol. LI. p. 515.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Repeated applications made by the king of Pruſſia to Voltaire, to induce him to quit France, and reſide at the court of Berlin.—Voltaire's arrival, and reception.—Diverſions and entertainments at the Pruſſian court.—Frederick's mode of living at this period.—Deſcription of the palace of Sans Souci.—Methods adopted by the king for increaſing the population of his dominions.

CHAP. XIII. A. D. 1750.

THE king of Pruſſia, from the beginning of his reign, had been extremely deſirous to prevail on VOLTAIRE to quit France, and to ſettle in his dominions. He paid the king ſeveral viſits, and was extremely careſſed by him, but could not be induced to continue with him. Voltaire then chiefly reſided with the marchioneſs DU CHATELET, a lady of extraordinary accompliſhments; and of whom he has given the following account: 'The 'marchioneſs du Chatelet, of all the women in 'France, had a mind the moſt capable of the dif-'ferent branches of ſcience. Her father, the baron 'de Breteuil, had taught her Latin, which ſhe 'underſtood as perfectly as madame Dacier. She 'knew by heart the moſt beautiful paſſages of 'Horace, Virgil, and Lucretius. All the philo-'ſophical works of Cicero were familiar to her. 'Her prevailing taſte was for mathematics and for 'metaphyſics. Seldom has there been united, in 'the ſame perſon, ſo much juſtneſs of diſcernment,

'and

'and elegance of taſte, with ſo ardent a deſire of 'information. But, notwithſtanding her love of 'literature, ſhe was not the leſs fond of the world, 'and of thoſe amuſements which were adapted to 'her age and ſex. She determined, however, to 'quit them all, and to go and bury herſelf in an 'old ruinous chateau, upon the borders of Cham-'pagne and Lorraine, and ſituated in a barren and 'unhealthy ſoil. This old chateau ſhe ornament-'ed, and embelliſhed with agreeable gardens. I 'built a gallery, and provided a fine apparatus for 'philoſophical experiments. We had alſo a nume-'rous library.'—'I taught the Engliſh language to 'madame du Chatelet, who, in about three months, 'underſtood it as well as I did, and read Newton, 'Locke, and Pope, with the ſame eaſe. She 'learned Italian alſo with equal expedition. We 'read all the works of Taſſo and Arioſto 'together.'—'At Cirey we cultivated all the arts. 'It was there I compoſed Alzira, Merope, the 'Prodigal Son, and Mahomet. It was for her 'uſe I wrote an Eſſay on Univerſal Hiſtory, from 'the age of Charlemagne to the preſent [112].'

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In one of Voltaire's letters to the king of Pruſſia, in anſwer to one preſſing him to come and reſide at his court, he agreed to pay him a viſit; but 'I 'gave him to underſtand,' ſays he, 'that I could 'not come to ſtay with him; that I conſidered it

[112] Memoires de M. de Voltaire, écrits par lui-même, Lond. 1784. p. 2, 3, 4, 7.

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'as a duty to prefer friendſhip to ambition; that I 'was attached to madame du Chatelet; and that, 'between philoſophers, I loved a lady better than a 'king. He approved of the liberty I took, though, 'for his own part, he did not love the ladies [213].'

THE marchioneſs du Chatelet died at Luneville, the palace of king Staniſlaus, whither Voltaire had accompanied her, in the year 1749; and, after that event, the king of Pruſſia renewed his ſolicitations to him, to come and reſide at his court. Voltaire, however, went firſt to Paris, and ſtarted ſome objections againſt quitting France for Pruſſia. One of his objections was againſt the climate of Berlin, which he alleged to be rigorous and intemperate. Algarotti, D'Argens, and La Méttrie, were deſired by the king to write to him, to remove his apprehenſions upon that head. Darget, who was a Frenchman, and then the king's ſecretary, added to their letters a certificate in verſe, which was accompanied by two melons, gathered in the month of June, in the gardens of Potſdam [214]. From Paris Voltaire went to Compeigne, where the French court then was; and, after a ſhort ſtay there, reſolved to proceed to the Pruſſian court. But he previouſly went to Holland, and from thence to Cleves. He had thrown out ſome in-

[213] Memoires de M. de Voltaire, écrits par lui-même, Lond. 1784, p. 42, 43.

[214] Life of Voltaire, written by the marquis de Villette, and tranſlated from the French by Mr. Monke, 8vo. 1787, p. 168.

timations to the king of Prussia about the expences of his journey; and Frederick had ordered his banker at Paris to pay into his hands sixteen thousand livres to defray them. When he arrived at Cleves, M. Raesfeld, the Prussian resident there, had also orders to provide him with horses, and the king's carriages, to convey him to Berlin [215]. Frederick received him with great joy; and insisted upon his living at Potsdam, in one of the finest apartments of the palace, and the same which had been occupied by mareschal Saxe. The king provided him with a table and equipages; the royal cooks, and royal coachmen, were always at his command; and Darget, the king's secretary, was directed to take care, that he should want nothing that could render his life pleasant and agreeable [216].

CHAP. XIII. A. D. 1750.

SOME time after Voltaire's arrival at Potsdam, he received a letter from his niece, in which she strongly dissuaded him from continuing at the Prussian court. This letter was communicated to Frederick; and Voltaire himself also threw out some doubts, whether his felicity, and his freedom, would not be diminished by his continuing at Potsdam. This occasioned the king, who then resided in the upper apartments of the palace, over those of Voltaire, to send down to him the following letter, which was dated the twenty-third of August, 1750.

[215] Life of Voltaire, by the marquis de Villette, ut supra, p. 170.

[216] Ibid. p. 171.

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'I have ſeen the letter which your niece wrote 'to you from Paris. The friendſhip that ſhe ex- 'preſſes for you commands my eſteem. I ſhould 'think as ſhe does, if I were madame Denis; but 'being what I am, I think otherwiſe. It would 'give me the moſt extreme concern, if I thought 'myſelf the cauſe of making my enemy wretched; 'and how then could I deſire the unhappineſs of a 'man, whom I eſteem, whom I love, and who, 'for my ſake, has given up his country, and what- 'ever has been thought dear among men? No, 'my dear Voltaire, if I could foreſee that your 'continuing to live in this country, would turn in 'the ſmalleſt degree to your diſadvantage, I ſhould 'be the firſt to diſſuade you from it. I ſhould 'prefer your happineſs to the extreme pleaſure that 'I have in your company. But you are a philo- 'ſopher, and ſo am I: what can be more natural, 'more ſimple, and more proper, than that thoſe 'philoſophers who were formed to live together, 'who are united by the ſame ſtudies, the ſame 'taſte, and the ſame manner of thinking, ſhould 'give themſelves that ſatisfaction? I reſpect you 'as my maſter in eloquence and in learning, and I 'love you as a virtuous friend. What ſlavery, 'what unhappineſs, what change, what inconſtancy 'of fortune, is to be dreaded in a country where 'you are as highly valued as in your own, and 'with a friend who has a grateful heart! I have 'not the fooliſh preſumption to think Berlin equal

'to

'to Paris. If riches, grandeur, and magnificence, 'make a city agreeable, Berlin muſt yield to Paris. 'If there be a particular place to be found in the 'world, where fine taſte more generally prevails, I 'know, and I allow that it is Paris. But do not 'you carry that taſte with you wherever you go? 'We have powers ſufficient to praiſe your merits, 'and as to ſentiment, we will not yield to any 'country upon earth. I reſpected the friendſhip 'which attached you to madame du Chatelet; but, 'after her, I am one of your oldeſt friends. What! 'becauſe you conſent to retire to my houſe, ſhall it 'be ſaid that this houſe will become your priſon? 'Shall I become your tyrant, becauſe I am your 'friend? I confeſs to you, that I do not under-'ſtand that logic; and I am firmly perſuaded, that 'you will be happy here as long as I live; that 'you will be looked upon as the father of letters, 'and of men of taſte; and that you will find every 'conſolation in me, which a man of your merit 'can expect from one who eſteems him [217].'

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THIS letter ſeems to have determined Voltaire to continue to reſide at Potſdam. But he deſired the Pruſſian monarch, to aſk the conſent of the French king to his quitting his own country, which Frederick accordingly did by his miniſter at Verſailles. Lewis XV. gave his conſent, but with ſome apparent reluctance and diſguſt. Frederick

[217] Commentaire Hiſtorique ſur les Oeuvres de l'Auteur de la Henriade, Baſil, 1776, p. 54, 55, 56.

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now made Voltaire one of his chamberlains, conferred on him the order of merit, and gave him a contract, by which he bound himſelf to pay to him a penſion of twenty thouſand livres, or eight hundred guineas a year.

AFTER Voltaire's arrival, a variety of entertainments were exhibited at the Pruſſian court. Among others was a very ſplendid tournament, which was performed in the garden of the palace of Berlin, and the preparations for which were extremely magnificent. Oppoſite to the end of the courſe, a gallery was erected for the king, the queen, the queen dowager, the princes and princeſſes, and their attendants; and under it another for the princeſs Amelia, who was to diſtribute the prizes, and four judges, who were appointed to determine on whom the prizes ſhould be conferred. On each ſide of the courſe was erected a ſpacious building, in the form of an amphitheatre; one of which was for the nobility, and the other for the magiſtrates and citizens of Berlin. The whole courſe was illuminated by ſeveral thouſand lamps of different colours. The knights were divided into four ſquadrons; one of which repreſented the Romans, another the Carthaginians, a third the Greeks, and the fourth the Perſians. Theſe ſquadrons had for their leaders, the prince of Pruſſia, prince Henry, prince Ferdinand, and the margrave Charles. Each ſquadron conſiſted of ſixteen knights; and before each went a great number of ſervants, in proper habits,

habits, with led horſes, and a full band of muſic, adapted to the nation they were deſigned to repreſent. 'The magnificence of theſe knights,' ſays Bielfeld, 'as well as their leaders, ſurpaſſed 'all deſcription. On every ſide was ſeen the effulgence of ſilver, gold, brilliants, and other rich 'jewels of various colours; ſo that a more ſumptuous appearance cannot poſſibly be imagined.— 'When they were drawn up in proper order, the 'ſignal was given; and the knights, as well as their 'leaders, contended for the prize with the utmoſt 'ardour, by running at the ring with their lances, 'and by attacking the head with their javelins, 'and their ſwords and piſtols, with amazing vigour 'and dexterity. Mareſchal Schwerin, mareſchal 'Kalckſtein, mareſchal Keith, and M. D'Arnimb, 'miniſter of ſtate, were the judges, who determined 'the prizes, which the princeſs Amelia diſtributed[218].' Voltaire was ſo pleaſed with this entertainment, that he wrote on the ſpot the four following lines, which he preſented to the princeſs:

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Jamais, dans la Gréce & dans Rome,
On ne vit de tels jeux, ni de plus dignes prix.
J'ai vu les Fils de Mars, ſous les traits de Paris,
Et Venus qui donnoit la pomme[219].

ABOUT this time Voltaire's tragedy of ROME SAUVEE was alſo exhibited at the palace of Potſdam, and ſome of the characters were performed

[218] Letters, vol. II. p. 63, 64. [219] Ibid. p. 65.

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by the Pruſſian princeſſes. At a rehearſal of this piece, ſome Pruſſian ſoldiers, who were ſelected to repreſent the Roman guards attendant on the ſenate, gave great offence to Voltaire by their manner of acting. They were well ſkilled in military manœuvres, but were very little acquainted with the evolutions of the theatre. Voltaire, who played Cicero, exclaimed aloud, and with an oath, that he had called for men, and they had ſent him Germans. "The princeſſes," ſays the marquis de Villette, "burſt out a laughing, at the energy with "which the Roman orator expreſſed his impatience "in French [220]."

As the king of Pruſſia's mode of living, though in many reſpects it was very uniform, yet appears not to have been always exactly the ſame, it may not be improper here to give ſome account of the manner in which he paſſed his time, about that period of his life to which we are now arrived.

IT was his general cuſtom to riſe at five o'clock in the morning, and ſometimes earlier [H]. He commonly

[220] Life of Voltaire, tranſlated by Mr. Monke, p. 172, 173.

[H] The accounts given of his time of riſing in the morning do not exactly agree. The writer of the *Obſervations on the military eſtabliſhment, &c. of the King of Pruſſia*, ſays, "Nothing can be more uniform than his private life. He conſtantly riſes at four o'clock in the ſummer, and at five in the "winter." P. 6. But Voltaire ſays, in his *Idée du Roi de Pruſſe*, "He riſes every morning at five o'clock;" and in his *Memoirs*, "He roſe at five in the ſummer, and ſix in the "winter."

commonly dreſſed his hair himſelf, and ſeldom employed more than two minutes for that purpoſe. His boots were put on at his bed-ſide, for he ſcarcely ever wore ſhoes [1]. After he was dreſſed, the adjutant of

CHAP. XIII. A. D. 1751.

" winter." The fact ſeems to have been, that in the earlier part of his life, and when Voltaire was with him, when he accuſtomed himſelf to ſuppers, he went to bed later, and roſe later, than in the latter part of his life, when he wholly left off the practice of eating ſuppers. It is alſo ſaid that latterly, when he had ſometimes overſlept himſelf, he appeared much chagrined, and gave poſitive orders to his ſervants, that however drowſy he might be, and however reluctant he might ſeem to riſe, they ſhould not ſuffer him to ſleep after the clock had ſtruck four.

[1] Voltaire ſays, 'If you want to know the royal ceremonies 'when the king roſe, by whom he was attended, and what were 'the functions of his high almoner, his great chamberlain, the 'firſt gentleman of his bed-chamber, and his gentleman uſhers, 'I anſwer, a ſingle lacquey came to light his fire, dreſs, and 'ſhave him; though he partly dreſſed himſelf alone. His 'chamber was rather beautiful; a rich baluſtrade of ſilver, 'ornamented with little loves, of exceedingly good ſculpture, 'ſeemed to form the alcove of the ſtate-bed, the curtains of 'which were ſeen: but behind theſe curtains, inſtead of a bed, 'there was a library; and as to the royal-bed, it was compoſed 'of a ſtump bedſtead, without ſacking, but croſs-corded, and 'a ſlight matraſs; the whole concealed by a ſcreen. Marcus 'Aurelius and Julian, the two greateſt men among the Romans, 'and apoſtles of the Stoics, lay not on a harder couch.' *Memoires de M. de Voltaire, écrits par lui-même*, p. 73, 74.

In another place Voltaire ſays, 'He dreſſes his hair himſelf, 'and does it very well. He never wears a night-cap, nor 'night-gown, nor ſlippers. He only wears an old greaſy linen 'cloak to powder himſelf in. During the whole year, he wears 'the uniform of the firſt battalion of his guards, which is blue, 'faced

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of the first battalion of his guards brought him a list of all the persons that were arrived at Potsdam, or

'faced with red, with silver brandeburghs; a plain yellow waistcoat; a hat with a white feather, and laced *de point d'Espagne*. He is the whole year in boots, for he cannot walk with shoes, nor wear his hat under his arm.' *Idée du Roi de Prusse, par M. de Voltaire*, 8vo. 1773, p. 7.

It has been said, that three times in the year he had a new suit of the uniform of the first battalion of his guards; and he sometimes had a splendid suit on extraordinary occasions. But, in the latter part of his life, he appears to have been much more frugal in the article of dress. One writer says, 'He is usually dressed in a plain suit of regimentals, and in boots. His uniform consists of a blue coat faced with red, and a yellow waistcoat and breeches. As he is a great œconomist in dress, his cloaths are commonly old and shabby; and he wears no other mark of distinction than the order of the black eagle. He is by no means nice about his boots, and he does not often allow himself a new pair; so that in general they are rather of a dirty brown, than of a black colour. Now and then, though very rarely, on grand festivals, he appears in an embroidered suit of blue velvet. This, with one, or, at the most, two suits of regimentals, constitutes the whole of his wardrobe. His hair is always cued, and carelessly twisted into a single buckle at the sides. He takes a great deal of Spanish snuff, and makes use of a large and very rich snuff box. I never saw a person make a more military appearance than this prince does on horseback; and it is easy, even through the negligence of his apparel, to distinguish the warrior.' *Observations on the Military Establishment, &c. of the King of Prussia, with an account of his private life*, &c. written by an officer of distinction in the French service, who spent a considerable time in Prussia, published at Leipsic in 1778, and translated into English in 1780, p. 6.

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or departed from thence, and an account of whatever had occurred in the garriſon. When he had delivered his orders to this officer, he retired into an inner cabinet, where he employed himſelf in private till ſeven o'clock. He then went into ano- CHAP. XIII. A. D. 1751.

When Dr. Moore was at Potſdam, he was ſhewn the apartments of the palace, and the king's wardrobe, of which he has given the following account. 'The palace at POTSDAM, or 'what they call the caſtle, is a very noble building, with magnificent gardens adjacent. I ſhall not trouble you with a deſcription of either: only it ſtruck me as a thing rather uncommon in a palace, to find the ſtudy by far the fineſt apartment in it. The ornaments of this are of maſſy ſilver. The writing-deſk, the embelliſhments of the table, and the accommodations for the books, were all in fine taſte. The perſon who attended us, aſked if we had any deſire to ſee his majeſty's wardrobe? On being anſwered in the affirmative, he conducted us to the chamber where his majeſty's clothes are depoſited. It had a very different appearance from his library. The whole wardrobe conſiſted of two blue coats, faced with red, the lining of one a little torn; two yellow waiſtcoats, a good deal ſoiled with Spaniſh ſnuff; three pair of yellow breeches, and a ſuit of blue velvet, embroidered with ſilver, for grand occaſions. I imagined at firſt, that the man had got a few of the king's old clothes, and kept them here to amuſe ſtrangers; but, upon inquiry, I was aſſured, that what I have mentioned, with two ſuits of uniform, which he has at Sans Souci, form the entire wardrobe of the king of Pruſſia. Our attendant ſaid, he had never known it more compleat. As for the velvet ſuit, it was about ten years of age, and ſtill enjoyed all the vigour of youth. Indeed, if the moths ſpared it as much as his majeſty has done, it may laſt the age of Methuſalem.' *View of Society and Manners in France, Switzerland, and Germany*, vol. II. p. 118, 119, 120, edit. 1786.

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ther apartment, where he drank coffee, or chocolate; and here he found upon the table all the letters addreſſed to him from Potſdam, Berlin, or any other parts of his dominions. Foreign letters were placed upon a ſeparate table. After reading all theſe letters, he wrote hints or notes in the margin of thoſe which his ſecretaries were to anſwer; and then returning into the inner cabinet, carried with him ſuch as he meant to write or dictate an anſwer to himſelf. Here he employed himſelf till nine o'clock with one of his private ſecretaries. He then returned back again into the former apartment, where he was attended by three ſecretaries, each of whom gave him an account of what he had done: after which the king delivered his orders to them, with the letters that they were to anſwer [221]. None of theſe anſwers, however, were ſent off, till they had been read, and many of them ſigned, by the king. At ten o'clock, the generals who were about his perſon, whom he was accuſtomed to ſend for in their turn, attended him in his cloſet, where he converſed with them on the news of the day, politics, tactics, and other ſubjects; and at this time he alſo gave audience to ſuch perſons as had received previous notice to attend. At eleven o'clock he mounted his horſe, and rode to the parade, where he reviewed and exerciſed his regiment of guards; and "at the ſame hour," ſays Voltaire, "all the

[221] Obſervations on the Military Eſtabliſhment of the King of Pruſſia, with an account of his private life, &c. p. 6, 7, 8,

"colonels

" colonels did the ſame throughout the provinces." He afterwards walked for ſome time in the garden, with his generals, and the reſt of the company whom he had invited to dine with him. At one o'clock he ſat down to dinner, and his company generally conſiſted of the princes his brothers, ſome of his general officers, ſome of the officers of his regiment of guards, and one or two of his chamberlains. He had no carver, but did the honours of the table himſelf, like a private gentleman. His table generally conſiſted of twenty-four covers [K]; and

[K] Voltaire ſays, 'The kitchen expence of his table is 'ſettled at thirty-three German dollars a day, (or about five Eng-'liſh guineas.) For that ſum he has twenty-four diſhes every day, 'ſixteen at dinner, and eight at ſupper. No more than twenty-four 'covers are ever laid at noon, and eight at night, unleſs upon 'ſome extraordinary occaſion. If there are more than twenty-four 'covers, the overplus is paid at a dollar per cover to the perſon 'who has undertaken to furniſh the kitchen. For example: at 'the wedding-feaſt of prince Henry, all the covers which ex-'ceeded the uſual number were paid for only at the rate of a 'dollar per cover, excepting the large ſea fiſh and the game, 'which the king paid for ſeparately. Out of the three and 'thirty dollars the contractor furniſhes the wood and coals, the 'kitchen furniture and linen, and whatever relates to the kit-'chen, excepting the wages of the cooks, which are paid by 'the king himſelf. He keeps four cooks; a Frenchman, an 'Italian, a Pruſſian, and an Auſtrian. Each of them dreſſes 'him four diſhes at dinner, and two at ſupper, whether he is at 'home, or not. He entertains the officers of the firſt battalion 'of his guards the year round. One day they have beer, and 'the

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and his dinner-time did not much exceed an hour. After dinner, he generally conversed with some of his guests for about a quarter of an hour, walking about the room. He then retired into his private apartment, making low bows to his company. It was so much his practice to make very low bows, even when no persons were present but his own attendants, that Voltaire remarks, that it was

'the next a pint of wine a head. Every day, at noon, he 'treats also the officers of the two other battalions of his guards 'with three large dishes of meat boiled or roasted, and with 'bread and beer. It is a kind of luncheon, or whet, for those 'who choose to partake of it; and the price of this is likewise 'regularly settled.' *Idée du Roy de Prusse*, ut supra, p. 14, 16.

Voltaire farther informs us, that his household consisted of 'eight pages, the same number of footmen, four running foot-'men, and six young men dressed in the Eastern manner, all in 'rose colour, with galloon lace. In all his own apartments, in 'those of the two queens, and of the princess Amelia, the furni-'ture is also of a rose colour, or a pale pink.' He adds, that 'his father was fond of hunting, and had a tolerable equipage 'for that purpose. But the present king, on his accession to the 'throne, ordered his great huntsman, who was passionately fond 'of hunting, to sell it. The great huntsman thereupon repre-'sented, that it would be advantageous to the king to continue 'to sell the game as before; and he ventured to assure his 'majesty, that by suppressing the chase he would lose twenty 'thousand dollars per annum. The king then said, "I give "you this moment the whole equipage; I also give you up all "my game, and the fishing in the rivers, and you shall pay me "twenty thousand dollars a year." The unfortunate huntsman 'did not dare to refuse the king's offer: he paid it till he had 'ruined himself, and till he had neither estate, nor game, nor 'fish left.' Ibid. p. 26, 28.

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thought to have made him ſtoop in the ſhoulders. He continued in private till five o'clock, when his reader waited on him. That office was frequently performed by the marquis D'Argens [L], and ſometimes

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[L] JOHN BAPTIST DE BOYER, marquis D'ARGENS, was deſcended from a noble family, and born at Aix in Provence, in the year 1704. He entered into the army when he was only fifteen years of age, contrary to the inclinations of his father, who intended him for the profeſſion of the law; and ſome time after he formed a connection with an actreſs. He went through a variety of adventures in his youth, of which he publiſhed an account in his *Memoirs*, which were printed in one volume, 12mo. He accompanied the marquis de Chateaurenard to Algiers, Tunis, and Conſtantinople. On his return to France, having now quitted the army, he applied himſelf for ſome time, by the deſire of his father, to the ſtudy of the law, and became an advocate; but he was ſoon weary of the profeſſion, and in a ſhort time wholly abandoned it. He engaged in a number of intrigues, and in gaming, and entered again into the army in 1733. He was preſent at the ſiege of Kehl, where he was ſlightly wounded in 1734; and at the ſiege of Philipſburgh he had a fall from his horſe, by which he was very much hurt, and ſoon after quitted the ſervice. He afterwards went to Holland, where he publiſhed ſeveral of his works, which appear to have recommended him to the notice of the king of Pruſſia, who invited him to his court, and made him one of his chamberlains, and a director of the royal academy of ſciences. But, before he went to Berlin, which was in 1742, he had been one of the chamberlains to the ducheſs of Wurtemberg; and when he quitted the ſervice of that princeſs, ſhe ſettled on him, as a mark of her regard, a penſion of ſix hundred florins *per annum*.

The marquis D'Argens married at Berlin; and having continued about twenty-five years at the Pruſſian court, he returned again to France, and lived for ſome years at Aix, his native place,

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ſometimes by Darget, or Mettrie. His reading laſted about two hours, and this was ſucceeded by a concert, in which he himſelf was a performer upon the flute, and which laſted till nine. When the concert was over, he was attended by VOLTAIRE, ALGAROTTI, MAUPERTUIS, or ſome other wits, or favourites, whom he had invited. With theſe he ſupped at half an hour after nine, and his company ſeldom conſiſted of more than eight perſons, the king himſelf included. During the ſup-

place. He died at the country ſeat of his ſiſter, the baroneſs de la Garde, near Toulon, in 1771. He is repreſented to have been a man of very agreeable manners; and in company he was much diſtinguiſhed for the wit, vivacity, and gaiety of his converſation; but when not in company, he ſeems frequently to have been very low ſpirited; and he ſaid of himſelf, that his opinions ſometimes depended on the weather. His memory was remarkably tenacious, he underſtood ſeveral languages, and wrote with great eaſe and fluency, but without much ſtrength. He was the author of many works, which were collected together, and publiſhed in twenty-four volumes, 12mo. in 1768. His moſt celebrated performance was his *Letters Juives*, which were tranſlated into Engliſh, and publiſhed under the title of the *Jewiſh Spy*, in ſix volumes, 12mo. One of his pieces, which is a defence of the doctrine of materialiſm, was publiſhed in Engliſh, in 8vo. in 1749, under the title of "Man a Machine;" and another, in two volumes, 12mo. under the title of "New "Memoirs, eſtabliſhing a true knowledge of mankind." His works contain ſome juſt obſervations on the ſuperſtitions and abſurdities of the church of Rome, and in favour of toleration; but theſe paſſages are mixed with others of a very different nature, unfavourable to divine revelation, and to the real intereſts of religion and morality; and many of the topics which he diſcuſſes, are treated in a very trifling and ſuperficial manner.

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per, and after, great freedom of converſation took place; and at twelve the king went to bed. CHAP. XIII. A. D. 1751.

Of the royal ſuppers, and of his attendance on the king at this period, Voltaire gives the following account: 'Our ſuppers were very agreeable. I 'know not if I am deceived, but I think we had a 'great deal of wit. The king was witty, and gave 'occaſion to wit in others; and what is ſtill more 'extraordinary, I never found myſelf ſo much at 'my eaſe. I worked two hours a day with his 'majeſty; I corrected all his works; and never 'failed to praiſe highly whatever was worthy of 'praiſe, though I rejected the droſs. I gave him 'details of all that was neceſſary in rhetoric, and in 'criticiſm, for his uſe. He profited by my in-'ſtructions, and his genius aſſiſted him ſtill more 'than my leſſons. I had no court to make, no 'viſits to pay, no duty to fulfil. I led a life of 'liberty; and had no idea of any ſituation more 'happy than that which I then enjoyed[222].' Of the converſation at the king's ſuppers, Voltaire ſays, 'Never was there a place in the world, where 'liberty of ſpeech was ſo fully indulged, or where 'the various ſuperſtitions of men were treated with 'ſo much ridicule and contempt. God was re-'ſpected; but thoſe who in his name had impoſed 'upon mankind were not ſpared. Neither women, 'nor prieſts, ever entered the palace; and, in a

[222] Memoires de Voltaire, p. 111, 112.

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'word, Frederick lived without a court, without a 'council, and without religion [223].'

IN another place Voltaire, ſpeaking of Frederick's great officers of ſtate, and of his houſehold, ſays, 'He has a lord-chancellor, who never ſpeaks in 'council; a great huntſman, who dares not ſhoot a 'quail; a high-ſteward, who has nothing to order; 'a ſerjeant of the wine-cellar, who does not know 'whether there is any wine in the cellar; a great 'maſter of the horſe, who has it not in his power 'to have a horſe ſaddled; a lord-chamberlain, who 'never gave him his ſhirt; and a great maſter of 'the wardrobe, who does not know the king's 'taylor [224].' The functions of all theſe offices, he remarks, were executed by FREDERSTORFF; who was alſo valet de chambre in ordinary, gentleman of the king's bed-chamber, and cabinet ſecretary [225]. But though Frederick was attended with little ſtate at Sans-Souci, or Potſdam, yet Voltaire informs us, that when he was at Berlin, he made a great diſplay of magnificence on public days. 'It was a 'ſuperb ſpectacle,' ſays he, 'to ſee him at table, 'ſurrounded by twenty princes of the empire, 'ſerved in veſſels of gold, the richeſt in Europe, 'by two and thirty pages, and as many young 'heiduques, all ſplendidly dreſſed, and bearing 'diſhes of maſſy gold. The ſtate-officers were alſo

[223] Memoires de Voltaire, p. 79, 80.

[224] Idée du Roi de Pruſſe, p. 24, 25. [225] Id. ibid.

'employed on these occasions, though unknown at any other time [116].'

CHAP. XIII. A. D. 1751.

THE king himself chiefly resided at SANS-SOUCI, and of this palace the following description is given by Bielfeld. 'This palace,' says he, 'stands but 'a cannon shot from the gates of Potsdam. It is 'situated on the summit of a hill, at the foot of 'which flows the river Havel, which is there of a 'considerable breadth. As the king was walking 'one day over this hill, he stopt a little on the top 'of it; and being struck with the beautiful and 'extensive prospect, he determined to erect a small 'building there, which might serve as a casual 'summer retreat; and his majesty himself drew 'the first plan of it. This building, which was 'originally no more than a royal lodge, is now be-'come a summer residence worthy of Frederick. 'This palace has only one story, and is raised from 'the ground by three steps, which go round the 'whole building. The roof is in the Italian taste: 'in the middle of it there is a small dome, and it 'is surrounded by a stone balustrade, ornamented 'with a number of vases and groups of children. 'The windows are lofty and circular, and conti-'nued quite down to the floor. The front next 'the garden is very richly ornamented.—The front 'next the country, where is the principal entrance, 'is adorned with fluted pillars of the Corinthian 'order. The two wings, which are on this side,

[116] Memoires, p. 87, 88.

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'are connected by a double row of pillars, which 'form a colonnade, in the manner of that of St. 'Peter's at Rome. The inside of this palace is 'extremely beautiful. Taste and magnificence 'every where accompany each other.'—'His ma-'jesty's library is at the end of the palace, next 'his bed-chamber. It is of a circular form, and 'surrounded by book-cases of cedar, curiously 'wrought and glazed, and decorated with festoons 'of gilt copper. Over these cases are placed 'marble busts of the most celebrated authors of 'antiquity.'—'The shelves are filled with a small 'but rich collection, which forms a complete sys-'tem of every kind of useful and ornamental learn-'ing, among which are French translations of the 'Greek and Roman classics; and such antient au-'thors of merit, of whom translations have not 'been printed, his majesty has caused to be trans-'lated for his own use, and preserved in manu-'script in this library [227].' The baron afterwards describes the garden, of which he speaks in very high terms, and which is decorated with fine statues; and he adds, 'The king has not contented 'himself with adorning his palace and gardens, 'with a magnificence truly royal, but he has like-'wise embellished the face of the whole country 'around; so that wherever the eye turns, it is de-'lighted by rich and pleasing objects [228].'

[227] Lettres familieres, tom. II. p. 330—335. [228] Ibid. p. 339.

ANOTHER

ANOTHER writer ſays, 'The palace of SANS-SOUCI, which was built by his majeſty, is agreeably ſituated about a quarter of a league from Potſdam, on a riſing ground. It is a low building, the ſtyle of which is extremely ſimple. The apartments are judiciouſly laid out, and furniſhed with great taſte. In this palace there is an admirable gallery of pictures, in which the king has collected many capital performances of the moſt celebrated painters, particularly of thoſe of the Flemiſh ſchool. The gardens are ſpacious, and abound with ornaments, ſuch as ſtatues and vaſes. One part of them is ſet apart for the choiceſt and beſt fruit trees. No perſon is allowed to go to Sans-Souci, not even the royal family, without the king's ſpecial permiſſion[229].' CHAP. XIII. A. D. 1751.

FREDERICK's attention to the embelliſhment of his palaces, did not prevent him from attending to objects of greater national importance. He had, for ſome years preceding the preſent period, adopted very judicious methods for increaſing the population of his dominions; he gave liberal encouragement to all French Proteſtants who would come and ſettle in his dominions; he expended large ſums in the clearing of waſte lands; he cauſed navigable canals to be made, which were highly beneficial to different parts of his dominions; and he peopled the deſerts of Pomerania, by giving

[229] Obſervations on the Military Eſtabliſhment, &c. of the King of Pruſſia, p. 17, 18.

CHAP. XIII. A. D. 1752.

bounties to great numbers of induſtrious emigrants to ſettle in that province. More than ſixty new villages aroſe amidſt a barren waſte; and a numerous population, and ſucceſsful agriculture, were now exhibited on thoſe plains, which, before the acceſſion of Frederick, had been ſolitary and deſolate.

IN the month of June, 1752, prince Henry, ſecond brother to the king of Pruſſia, was married to the princeſs Wilhelmina, of Heſſe Caſſel, the daughter of prince Maximilian. When the princeſs arrived at Charlottenburgh, Bielfeld ſays, that "the king went into the court before the palace, "and received her highneſs as ſhe came out of the "coach. The princeſs made the king a compli-"ment, which was at once ſprightly and reſpect-"ful; which his majeſty anſwered by a very ten-"der and affectionate embrace [310]." After the marriage was ſolemnized, a variety of entertainments took place at the court, and at Berlin; and Italian operas, French comedies, illuminations, and fire-works, were exhibited.

[310] Letters, vol. II, p. 83, 84.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

Miſunderſtanding between the king and Voltaire.—The latter involved in a law-ſuit with a Jew.—The king interferes in an academical diſpute between Maupertuis and Koenig.—Voltaire ſupports the cauſe of the latter, in oppoſition to the king.—A ſatirical piece againſt Maupertuis, written by Voltaire, publickly burnt at Berlin.—Voltaire quits Berlin, and is arreſted at Franckfort.

CHAP. XIV. A. D. 1752.

WE have ſeen, in the preceding chapter, that the king of Pruſſia had been ſucceſsful, in what was long the object of his aim, procuring Voltaire to reſide with him at the court of Berlin. But the harmony between them was not of very long continuance. When Voltaire had been nearly two years at the Pruſſian court, a miſunderſtanding took place, which ended in an open rupture, and a total ſeparation. To this ſeveral cauſes appear to have contributed. Frederick is ſaid to have been diſguſted, at the extreme familiarity with which Voltaire behaved to him in public; and as Voltaire's turn was highly ſarcaſtic, and his powers of ridicule ſometimes employed even againſt the king himſelf, this alſo was probably a ſource of offence [u]. A law-ſuit, in which Vol-

[u] Voltaire himſelf ſays, "I felt how diſpleaſing my free "ſpirit muſt be, to a king more abſolute than the Great Turk." Memoirs, p. 141.

CHAP. XIV. A. D. 1752.

taire happened to be involved with a Jew, is ſtated likewiſe to have extremely exaſperated Frederick againſt him. When the peace of Dreſden was concluded, it was ſtipulated, that all the ſubjects of the king of Pruſſia, who were intereſted in the Saxon funds, ſhould be exactly paid. A very diſhonourable uſe of this ſtipulation was made by ſome of the Pruſſians, by trading in what were called bills of the *ſtaire*; and Voltaire was charged with being concerned in this traffic. The *ſtaire*, or *ſteur*, was a bank eſtabliſhed at Dreſden; and the elector of Saxony had thrown into circulation ſo great a number of bills upon this bank, that they could no longer find payment, and loſt half their value. The Saxons had for a long time made uſe of them in their trade; and Holland, Germany, and Pruſſia, were over-run with them. But after the treaty of Dreſden, as the elector of Saxony was obliged, by that treaty, to pay the full amount of all the bills in the hands of Pruſſian ſubjects, many of the Pruſſians bought up theſe bills very cheap, and were paid for them at their original value. The king of Pruſſia himſelf, it is ſaid, highly diſapproved of this traffick; and remarked, that his couſin Auguſtus had made a miſtake [N], but that

[N] The king's meaning ſeems to have been, that Auguſtus had been guilty of an overſight, in not having ſtipulated, that the bills of which the Pruſſian ſubjects were to be paid the full value, ſhould be thoſe only of which they were actually poſſeſſed, at the time when the treaty was made.

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he ought not to take advantage of it[231]. Voltaire had employed a Jew, whose name was Herscheld, to negociate at Leipsic, as his friends say, bills of exchange to the amount of ten thousand crowns: but the enemies of Voltaire gave out, that the Jew was employed in negociating, for him, bills of the *staire*; and this information was communicated to the king. As Voltaire was always extremely attentive to the accumulation of money, it is not improbable that he might engage in this traffic. However that be, a law-suit took place between him and the Jew, which made a great noise at Berlin. When the Jew was at Leipsic, he had sent Voltaire, as a security for his bills of exchange, some diamonds which had belonged to Chasot, a French officer in the Prussian service, and which had been given to that officer by the duchess of Mecklenburgh. But Voltaire was informed, that the diamonds were not really the property of Herscheld, and that he was not a man to be trusted. He, therefore, recalled him from Leipsic, and ordered him to desist from engaging any more in his negociations. On Herscheld's return to Berlin, he charged two hundred crowns for the ordinary expences of his journey, which Voltaire paid; but the Jew also made an additional charge of five hundred crowns for extra expences, which Voltaire refused to pay. It is also said, that the Jew re-

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[231] Villette's Life of Voltaire, translated by Mr. Monke, p. 180.

fused

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fused to take back the diamonds, alleging, that Voltaire had taken out some large stones, and substituted a number of smaller in their stead. Voltaire then exhibited a charge against him in one of the Prussian courts, and the Jew was imprisoned. The affair now began to excite the attention of the public, and a law-suit took place, which was several months before it was terminated. The king, who, from the representations that had been made to him, had formed a very unfavourable opinion of the conduct of Voltaire in this business, signified to his chancellor Cocceius, that he should not in the least interfere in the affair, but left it entirely to be determined by the judges. Voltaire then applied to Maupertuis, and desired him to recommend his cause to mons. Jarriges, one of the judges. This Maupertuis refused, saying, that "he could not interfere in a black affair." The king at length became so much exasperated at the business, and probably at some other circumstances in the conduct of Voltaire, that he called for his secretary Darget, and directed him to write to Voltaire, that he insisted on his quitting his dominions in twenty-four hours. Darget, surprized at this order, hesitated, and desired the king to repeat his order a second time. Frederick himself then seemed to cool a little, and asked Darget what he thought of the business. Darget replied, "Sire, "you have called him to your court. The per- "sons appointed to try his cause are upon the "point

"point of judging him. If he be found guilty, "you will then have time enough to diſmiſs him." The king pauſed for a moment, and then ſaid to Darget, "You are right: you are an honeſt "man [232]."

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In a few days after, the cauſe was determined, and it was determined in Voltaire's favour. The impriſonment of the Jew was declared to be lawful; he was condemned to refund the bills of exchange, to take back the diamonds, and to pay a fine of ten crowns. The queſtion whether Voltaire was, or was not, concerned in trading in bills of the *ſtaire*, was probably not decided in the court in which the cauſe was tried, as that was not the point in conteſt between him and Herſcheld. But if Voltaire had not been conſcious of ſomewhat wrong in his own conduct, a recommendation of his cauſe to one of the judges could not have been neceſſary. As he was known to be a favourite of the king, he was at leaſt as likely as the Jew to obtain impartial juſtice. It may alſo be remarked, that the ſmallneſs of the fine, which was impoſed upon the Jew, ſeems to afford a kind of preſumption, that no evidence of very criminal conduct had been produced againſt him. Whatever might be the merits of the cauſe, as it was determined in favour of Voltaire, he again appeared at court; and ſoon after obtained permiſſion of the king to retire, for the benefit of his health, to a ſmall houſe

[232] Villette's Life of Voltaire, ut ſupra, p. 183.

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in the country, that Frederick had given to D'Argens. After ſome ſtay there, he returned again to court, and the king and he were apparently reconciled.

OTHER cauſes of miſunderſtanding ſoon, however, began to manifeſt themſelves. Some of the other wits at Frederick's court are repreſented as having been jealous of the partiality which the king diſcovered to Voltaire [o]; and they reported to his majeſty ſuch ſarcaſms of Voltaire as they thought would give him offence. On the death of Mettrie [p], the king was informed that Voltaire had ſaid,

[o] Voltaire ſays, that 'one day, after reading to the king, 'Mettrie, who ſpoke whatever came uppermoſt, told his ma'jeſty, that ſome perſons were extremely jealous of my favour 'and fortune.' "Be quiet a while," ſaid Frederick; "we "ſqueeze the orange, and we throw it away when we have "ſwallowed the juice." Mettrie did not fail to repeat to me 'this fine apophthegm, worthy of Dionyſius of Syracuſe. 'From that time, I determined to take all poſſible care of the 'orange-peel.' Memoires, p. 117.

[p] Voltaire informs us, that 'METTRIE was the moſt frank 'and declared atheiſt of all the perſons of the faculty in Europe. 'He was, in other reſpects, a gay, pleaſant, thoughtleſs fel'low, who underſtood the theory of phyſic as well as any of his 'brethren; but he was, without exception, the worſt practi'tioner upon earth; and he had, therefore, quitted the pro'feſſion. He had ridiculed the whole faculty at Paris, and had 'even written many perſonalities againſt individuals among the 'phyſicians, which they could never pardon; and they obtained 'a deciſion againſt him, in conſequence of which a warrant was 'iſſued for his apprehenſion. Mettrie thereupon retired to Ber-

lin,

said, that "the place of King's Atheist was vacant." With this, however, Frederick was not greatly offended. CHAP. XIV. A. D. 1752.

'lin, where he amused himself sufficiently by his gaiety, and 'likewise by writing and printing all that can be imagined most 'impudent upon manners. His books pleased the king, who 'made him not his physician, but his reader.'—'Mettrie died 'from having eaten a pasty stuffed with truffles, after a very 'hearty dinner at the table of lord. Tyrconnel, envoy from 'France. It was pretended, that he had been confessed before 'his death; a report which filled the king with great indignation, 'and into the truth of which, therefore, he made the strictest 'inquiries. They assured him, that it was an atrocious calumny; 'for that Mettrie had died as he had lived, abjuring God and 'the physicians. His majesty was satisfied, and immediately 'composed his funeral oration, which was read, in his name, 'at a public meeting of the academy, by Darget, his secretary. 'He likewise settled a pension of six hundred livres upon a *fille* 'de joye, who had been brought by Mettrie from Paris, where 'he left his wife and children.' Memoires, p. 115, 116, 118, 119.

The king of Prussia, in his *Eloge du Sieur La Mettrie*, says, that JULIEN OFFROI LA METTRIE was born at St. Malo's, on the 25th of December, 1709. He received part of his education at the college of Constance, and part at the college du Plessis. The account given of him by the king, is much more favourable than that of Voltaire. 'Frederick says, 'He studied 'rhetoric at Caen, and as he had much genius and imagination, 'he carried away all the prizes for eloquence. He was born an 'orator. He was passionately fond of poetry and polite litera-'ture; but his father, who thought that more was to be gained 'by being an ecclesiastic, than by being a poet, destined him for 'the church.' His father's wishes, however, were not gratified: he was persuaded to apply himself to physic, which he studied under Boerhaave, and took the degree of doctor of physic at Rheims.

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fended. But with another ſarcaſtic remark of Voltaire's, relative to his writings, he is ſaid to have been much more diſpleaſed. General Manſtein happened to be in the apartments of Voltaire, who was examining and correcting ſome memoirs of the Ruſſian empire, written by that officer, and which were to be publiſhed in French, when a poetical piece of the king's was brought to Voltaire to reviſe and correct. On receiving the royal

Rheims. In 1742, he was made phyſician to the French guards, by the intereſt of the duke de Grammont. He accompanied that nobleman at the battles of Dettingen and Fontenoy. In the laſt of thoſe actions the duke was killed by a cannon ball, and Mettrie was thereby deprived of a patron. He publiſhed ſeveral medical works, and a piece called *L'Hiſtoire Naturelle de l'Ame*, written in ſupport of the ſyſtem of materialiſm. This gave offence to the clergy, who maintained, as the king of Pruſſia ſays, that "a phyſician, accuſed of hereſy, could not "cure the diſeaſes of the French guards."

Mettrie was alſo the author of a work, entitled, *La Politique des Medecins*; and this ſo much incenſed the phyſicians, that they united with the clergy in ſuch a perſecution againſt him, that he was obliged to quit France. He afterwards went to Leyden, where he publiſhed another ſatirical piece againſt the phyſicians, and another piece in defence of materialiſm. At the beginning of the year 1746, he went to Berlin, where he was admitted a member of the royal academy, and received a penſion from the king. He died at Berlin, at the houſe of lord Tyrconnel, in the forty-third year of his age. Frederick ſays, that he had an inexhauſtible fund of natural gaiety, great wit, and a fertile imagination; and that he was regretted as an honeſt man, and a learned phyſician, by all thoſe who had not been impoſed upon by the calumnies of the divines.

verſes,

verſes, Voltaire ſaid to the general, "Let us leave "off for the preſent, my friend. You ſee the "king has ſent me his dirty linen to waſh: I will "waſh your's another time [233]." Maupertuis, it is ſaid, took care that his majeſty ſhould be made acquainted with this ſpeech [234]. CHAP. XIV. A. D. 1752.

But the principal cauſe of miſunderſtanding between Frederick and Voltaire, and which at length occaſioned their total ſeparation, was the part that the latter took in a diſpute between MAUPERTUIS and KOENIG, and in which Voltaire acted in direct oppoſition to the king. Before the arrival of Voltaire at Berlin, he and Maupertuis had been on very good terms together; they had been perſonally acquainted at Paris, and at the houſe of madame du Chatelet, and letters highly complimentary had paſſed on both ſides. But when they often met together at Frederick's court, it ſoon appeared, that they were mutually diſguſted with each other. Maupertuis was thought to be diſpleaſed at the honours and diſtinctions that were conferred by the king on Voltaire; and the latter was probably offended that Maupertuis, after he came to Berlin, ſhould continue to hold the office of preſident of the royal academy of ſciences. This gave him a kind of rank among the men of letters at Berlin, to which Voltaire might think no man but himſelf

[233] Commentaire Hiſtorique ſur les Oeuvres de l'auteur de la Henriade, p. 60.

[234] Id. ibid.

could

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could be entitled, in any place in which he reſided. Voltaire had been for a conſiderable time perſonally acquainted with Koenig; but there ſeems reaſon to believe, that the averſion which he had now conceived againſt Maupertuis, was the real cauſe of his taking ſo decided a part in the controverſy between him and Koenig.

THE conteſt between Maupertuis and Koenig was occaſioned by a piece written by the former, and read before the royal academy of ſciences at Berlin, entitled, *Recherche des lois du mouvement*, in which he maintained, "That when there happens "any alteration in nature, the quantity of action, "neceſſary to produce this alteration, is the leaſt "poſſible[235]." This principle he illuſtrated in ſeveral of his other pieces, and founded on it a demonſtration of the exiſtence of the Deity. His principle was alſo claimed by himſelf, and his friends, as a diſcovery: but M. Koenig, who was an able mathematician, librarian to the prince of Orange, and a member of the academy at Berlin, aſſerted, that Maupertuis's principle was not new, and that it was to be found in the fragment of a letter written by Leibnitz. Maupertuis then called upon Koenig to produce that letter, but he could not produce the original: and the academy of Berlin now interpoſing, publickly declared, that the paſſage cited by Koenig as the fragment of a letter of Leibnitz, and which was publiſhed in the *Acta*

[235] Oeuvres de Maupertuis, tom. IV. p. 36.

Eruditorum

Eruditorum of Leipſic, carried with it evident marks of falſity, and was unworthy of credit. M. Euler alſo engaged in the conteſt in ſupport of Maupertuis, in a diſſertation which he publiſhed on the principle of a *minimum* in *action* [Q]. But many thought, that the academy ought not to have interfered in this buſineſs; that Koenig was not only a learned man, but a man of veracity; that his whole crime was, that he had offended the vanity of

[Q] Koenig not only denied that Maupertuis had made any diſcovery, but alſo endeavoured to ſhew that his principle was not true. Euler, on the contrary, contended, that Maupertuis had made a diſcovery, and that his principle was well founded. He admitted, at the ſame time, that it had been aſſerted both by antient and modern philoſophers, that nature always follows the moſt eaſy paths, or employs the leaſt expence in her operations; and that this, therefore, was not a diſcovery. But the point, he ſaid, was, not to find out who it was that firſt ſaid there was ſuch a law in nature, but who was the firſt that exhibited that law in a clear light, and determined, that nature ſpares, not only ſometimes, but always, and in all her operations; and this, he affirmed, had only been done by M. Maupertuis. The old philoſophers, and followers of Ariſtotle, he ſaid, had eſtabliſhed it as a law, that nature took the ſhorteſt courſe in all her operations, but they had not explained any phænomenon from it. But M. Maupertuis, from his principle, had examined and explained all the laws relative to light, both with regard to its propagation and refraction. By the principle of M. Maupertuis, the quantity of action was eſtimated by the product of the ſpace multiplied by the velocity. And that this product, M. Euler ſaid, not only in the motion of the rays of light, but in all the motions and operations of nature, becomes in reality the ſmalleſt poſſible, is the whole foundation of the principle of the *minima actio*.

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Maupertuis; and that he was only unfortunate in not having the original letter that he had quoted in his poſſeſſion. Koenig himſelf complained, that his rights as a man of letters were violated, by the academy interpoſing their authority in a literary controverſy. He afterwards publiſhed a warm vindication of himſelf; and the academy of Berlin thought proper to expel him from their ſociety.

VOLTAIRE now openly took the part of Koenig, and cenſured the proceedings of the academy. And Maupertuis having about this time publiſhed his *Lettre ſur le progrès des ſciences*, Voltaire took every opportunity of turning it into extreme ridicule. He ſays of it, that 'nothing had ever been 'written ſo ridiculous and abſurd. The good man 'ſeriouſly propoſed to travel directly to the two 'poles, to diſſect the heads of giants, in order to 'diſcover the nature of the ſoul by the texture of 'the brain; to build a city, in which nothing 'ſhould be ſpoken but the Latin language; to dig 'a pit to the center of the earth; to cure the ſick 'by plaiſtering them over with gum-reſin; and, 'finally, to propheſy, by enthuſiaſtically inflating 'the fancy. The king laughed at his book, I 'laughed at it, all the world laughed at it [216].' Maupertuis's performance had in it ſome ill-grounded and whimſical opinions, but it alſo contained ſentiments that were juſt and rational, and was far from being ſo ridiculous a piece as it was

[216] Memoires de Voltaire, p. 120, 121.

repreſented

repreſented to be by Voltaire. It appears to have been addreſſed to the king of Pruſſia, though without expreſsly naming him; and was intended to point out ſome probable methods of advancing knowledge in the ſciences, and to recommend ſome reſearches and inquiries, which Maupertuis thought would be beneficial to mankind. He was deſirous, that the ſouthern hemiſphere ſhould be accurately explored, and that the interior parts of Africa ſhould be better known. The Patagonians, he conſidered as a great object of curioſity; and he ſeemed to give much credit to the reports that had been publiſhed concerning them. "Theſe men," ſays he, "undoubtedly deſerve to be known. The largeneſs of their ſize would be, perhaps, the leaſt "thing to be obſerved. Their ideas, their knowledge, their hiſtory, would be a ſtill greater "curioſity [237]." Speaking of the South Sea, he alſo ſays, "It is in the iſlands of this ſea, that "navigators aſſure us they have ſeen ſavage men, "hairy, and having tails; a kind of middle ſpecies "between apes and men [R]. I had much rather "have an hour's converſation with one of theſe, "than with one of the fineſt wits in Europe [238]."

[237] Oeuvres de Maupertuis, tom. II. p. 387, 388.

[R] In another place he ſays, 'We ſhould ſee, perhaps, a 'very different conſtruction of the brain from that of ours, if 'we had ſome communication with the giants in the ſouthern 'hemiſphere, or with the hairy men having tails, of whom I 'have before ſpoken.' Ibid. p. 428.

[238] Ibid. p. 382, 383.

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In order to render the Latin tongue once more a living language, he propoſed that ſome prince ſhould build a city, in which perſons well verſed in Latin ſhould be aſſembled; and in which they ſhould preach in Latin, plead in Latin, and perform plays in Latin. "I do not believe," ſays he, "that the Latin ſpoken would be that of the "court of Auguſtus, but neither would it be that "of the Poles; and the young perſons who would "come into that city, from many countries of "Europe, would learn more Latin in it in one "year, than they learn in five or ſix in the preſent "ſeminaries [239]." He propoſed ſome methods for making farther advances in the ſcience of aſtronomy; he thought the medical art in a very low ſtate; and recommended, that the puniſhments of criminals ſhould be rendered more beneficial to mankind, by making a variety of experiments on their bodies when living; which, at the ſame time that it gave them a chance of eſcaping with life, might contribute greatly to the advancement of medical ſcience [240].

THOUGH the king of Pruſſia, agreeably to Voltaire's account, might laugh with him in private at ſome paſſages in Maupertuis's book, and at ſome of his pleaſantries concerning him, yet when he ſaw his preſident and his academy both violently and publickly attacked, about the affair of Koenig,

[239] Oeuvres de Maupertuis, ut ſupra, p. 399, 400.
[240] Ibid. p. 401, 407, 408, 413.

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he was ſo zealous in their defence, that he himſelf wrote a vindication of them, which was printed at Berlin, under the title of *Lettre d'un Academicien de Berlin àun Academicien de Paris.* In this piece, Frederick fully repaid all the high compliments which he had himſelf occaſionally received from Maupertuis [s]. He ſtated the reaſons that had occaſioned

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[s] PETER LEWIS MOREAU DE MAUPERTUIS was deſcended from a noble family, and born at St. Malo's, in France, in the year 1698. In his youth he diſcovered a ſtrong propenſity to the mathematics, and alſo an inclination to a military life. He entered into the *mouſquetaires* in 1718, but continued to employ his leiſure hours in ſtudy. After having continued two years in that corps, he obtained the command of a company of cavalry; but his attachment to the mathematics increaſing with his age, he ſoon quitted the ſervice, that he might devote himſelf entirely to ſcientific purſuits. In 1723, he was elected a member of the royal academy of ſciences at Paris; and a few years after he went to London, where he was elected a fellow of the royal ſociety. After his departure from England, he went to Switzerland, where he became acquainted with John and Daniel Bernouilli. In 1732 he publiſhed, at Paris, a diſcourſe *ſur les differentes figurès des aſtres.* In 1736, M. Maupertuis was placed at the head of thoſe mathematicians, who were ſent by the French king towards the north pole, in order to meaſure a degree there, and by that means to aſcertain the figure of the earth. Other mathematicians were ſent about the ſame time to meaſure a degree near the equator. A diſpute concerning the figure of the earth had ſubſiſted forty years. Sir ISAAC NEWTON had demonſtrated, from mechanical principles, that the earth was an oblate ſpheroid, or that it was flatted at the poles, and jutted out towards the equator. The celebrated Caſſini, however, aſſerted the direct contrary, and had many partiſans.

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occaſioned Koenig to be cenſured by the academy; the oppoſition that was made to Maupertuis is repreſented.

After the return of M. Maupertuis, and the other mathematicians to Paris, he publiſhed an account of their voyage, in 1738, by which the opinion of Sir ISAAC NEWTON was confirmed beyond diſpute. Maupertuis was afterwards fond of introducing this ſubject into his academical diſcourſes, and ſeemed inclined to arrogate too much to himſelf in the buſineſs, and not ſufficiently diſpoſed to do juſtice to the merit of NEWTON. In a diſcourſe read by him before the royal academy at Berlin, in 1747, he ſays, 'The Engliſh had the advantage of 'having formed the beſt *conjectures* upon this queſtion. France 'had the glory of deciding it, and of deciding it in their 'favour.'

In 1742, M. Maupertuis publiſhed, at Paris, *Elémens de Géographie*, and alſo a letter upon the comet which appeared in that year. But before the appearance of theſe pieces, he went to Berlin, in conſequence of an invitation from the Pruſſian monarch. He accompanied Frederick in part of his Sileſian war, and was taken priſoner and plundered by ſome Auſtrian huſſars, at the battle of Molwitz. He was carried to Vienna, where he met with a very polite reception from the grand duke of Tuſcany, and his conſort the queen of Hungary. Among other things of which he was plundered by the huſſars, he told the grand-duke, that one was an Engliſh watch, made by Graham, which he very much regretted, becauſe it was extremely uſeful to him in his aſtronomical obſervations. The grand-duke happened to have one made by the ſame artiſt, which was ſet with diamonds; and he ſaid to Maupertuis, "Our huſ-"ſars took your watch only by way of pleaſantry; they have "brought it back again, and I now return it to you;" at the ſame time giving him his own watch, which was much more valuable than that which had been taken from him. In the courſe of his converſation with the queen of Hungary, her majeſty

preſented as originating ſolely in envy; and Koenig, and thoſe who ſupported him, he ſpeaks of in very unfavourable

majeſty obſerved to him, that ſhe had been informed, that the princeſs Louiſa Ulrica of Pruſſia, with whom he was acquainted, and who was afterwards married to the prince-royal of Sweden, was the moſt beautiful princeſs in the world. "Till "this day, madam," replied Maupertuis, "I was entirely of "that opinion." Having received many civilities from the queen and the grand duke, and obtained his liberty, he went to France, and made ſome ſtay there. He then returned again to Berlin, and became preſident of the royal academy of ſciences and belles lettres in that city. In that ſituation he was much reſpected, and he was treated with great regard by the king; but his tranquility was exceedingly diſturbed by his diſpute with Koenig, and the attacks of Voltaire. He was alſo troubled with ill health; and in 1756, he returned to France, where he continued till the year 1758, when he went to Switzerland. He died at Baſil, on the 27th of July, 1759, at ſixty-two years of age, being attended, in his laſt moments, by his friends Daniel and John Bernouilli.

Maupertuis was the author of ſeveral pieces, beſides thoſe which I have already mentioned; particularly *Eſſai de Coſmologie*, *Eſſai de Philoſophie Morale*, *Venus Phyſique*, *Aſtronomie Nautique*, *Syſteme de la Nature*, *Relation d'un Voyage au fond de la Lapponie*, &c. His Works were publiſhed together at Lyons, in four volumes, 8vo. in 1756, and in 1768. He was undoubtedly a man of conſiderable abilities; but, in his own time, his talents were much over-rated. The marquis de Villette ſays, 'that 'Maupertuis was a fiery, but gloomy genius; overbearing in 'company; one of the moſt amiable men alive when all atten-'tion was paid to him, and every preference ſhewn him; but, 'as ſoon as his vanity was hurt, the auſterity and melancholy 'of his countenance ſuddenly betrayed the haughtineſs of his 'diſpoſition. It was nearly with this kind of expreſſion that he

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unfavourable terms. Maupertuis, he ſaid, was the glory of the royal academy of Berlin; their memoirs were more adorned by his writings than by thoſe of any other member; he was admired by all Europe for the ſuperiority of his genius, and the extent of his knowledge; and ſuch was the excellency of his character, that he might be conſidered as the model of a virtuous man, and a true philoſopher. In the academy, Frederick ſaid, he not only preſided, but managed their revenues, diſpoſed of vacant places, and granted penſions, with the greateſt judgment and impartiality. He was the protector of talents and of merit, and had always manifeſted the moſt diſintereſted ſpirit. He was admired, it was added, by all the learned who had read his works; beloved and eſteemed by the members of the academy; and more diſtinguiſhed

'had his picture drawn; the head erect, a ſtern countenance, 'with one hand flattening the poles of the earth, and by this 'attitude aſſuming the honour of a diſcovery which belonged to 'NEWTON.' He appears to have been a man of probity, and of regular and virtuous manners; but his ideas of human life were very gloomy. Lord Cheſterfield had a high opinion of him. In one of his letters to his ſon, who was about to make a journey to Berlin, he ſays, 'I would have you endeavour to get 'acquainted with monſieur de Maupertuis, who is ſo eminently 'diſtinguiſhed, by all kind of learning and merit, that one 'ſhould be both ſorry and aſhamed of having been even a day in 'the ſame place with him, and not to have ſeen him.' And in another letter, he ſays, 'Monſieur de Maupertuis is, what one 'rarely meets with, deep in philoſophy and mathematics, and 'yet *honnête et amiable homme.*'

at

at court, and more favoured by the king, than any other man of letters. CHAP. XIV. A. D. 1752.

To the king's defence of Maupertuis an anſwer was publiſhed, ſaid to be written by Voltaire, under the title of *Reponſe de l'Academicien de Paris a l'Academicien de Berlin*, in which Koenig was zealouſly defended; and in which it was obſerved, that from the great influence and power which Maupertuis, as preſident, had in the academy, even according to the ſtatement of the royal author of the vindication of Maupertuis, it was manifeſt, that the academy of Berlin was not a proper or impartial tribunal, to ſettle a literary diſpute between M. Koenig and the preſident.

In Frederick's letter he had obſerved, that "Monſ. Maupertuis was conſidered in France, as "of all others the moſt capable geometrician, to "verify thoſe truths which NEWTON had con-"jectured in his cloſet, relative to the figure of the "earth. On that account he had been ſent into "Lapland; and by his geometric operations, he "had contributed as much to his own glory, as to "that of the Engliſh philoſopher, whom he was "led by his modeſty to conſider as his maſter [241]." Upon this paſſage it was remarked, in the anſwer to the king's piece, that "it required great ſaga-"city, and a ſuperiority of genius, to determine "in the cloſet, by meditations grounded upon the

[241] *Lettre d'un Academicien de Berlin*, &c. publiſhed in *Eloges de trois Philoſophes*, 8vo. Lond. 1753, p. 65.

"laws

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"laws of natural philoſophy, the figure of the "earth; but it required nothing but exactneſs, and "ſome ſkill in menſuration, to verify the impor- "tant truth diſcovered by Newton. The methods "which were to be employed for that purpoſe had "long been made uſe of by Snell, Picard, Muſſchen- "broek, and others; ſo that in this reſpect no- "thing new had been done. And as to the "operations, it was M. Clairaut who had made "the calculation of triangles; it was M. Camus "who had regulated the inſtruments; and Meſſieurs "Celſius and Le Monier who had made the ob- "ſervations. All the part, therefore, that M. "Maupertuis had in the buſineſs, was that of "having been a ſpectator, and publiſhing, in good "French, an account of the voyage, and of the "circumſtances with which it was attended [242]."

BUT Voltaire was not ſatisfied with attacking Maupertuis by ſtatements of facts, and fair argument. He alſo employed againſt him thoſe powers of ridicule, of which he was ſo eminently a maſter; particularly in a piece called "the Tomb of the "Sorbonne;" and in another called "the Diatriba "of Doctor Akakia, phyſician to the pope." Frederick, who was much exaſperated at the freedom with which Maupertuis was treated in the laſt of theſe pieces, accuſed Voltaire with being the author of it. Voltaire, who was accuſtomed to

[242] *Reponſe de l'Academicien de Paris*, publiſhed in the *Eloges de trois Philoſophes*, p. 21, 22.

diſclaim

diſclaim his works, proteſted, on his honour, that he had no hand in that ſatire; but the king confuted him, by producing the manuſcript of his ſecretary, which he had ordered to be ſeized at the printer's [243]. The "Diatriba of Dr. Akakia" was burnt, as a defamatory libel, by the common executioner, in all the public places in Berlin, on the 24th of December, 1752 [244]. Voltaire, now conſidering himſelf as ruined at the Pruſſian court, returned the king his enſign of the order of merit, and his chamberlain's key, with the following lines:

Je les reçus avec tendreſſe;
Je vous les rend avec douleur:
Comme un amant jaloux, dans ſa mauvaiſe humeur,
Rend le portrait de ſa maitreſſe.

FREDERICK, being ſomewhat ſoftened by this act of ſubmiſſion, ſent him back the tokens of his former kindneſs, and granted him a long conference, in which Voltaire, if he could not juſtify, at leaſt in ſome degree excuſed himſelf [245]. The king, however, afterwards ſent the abbé de Prades to Voltaire at Berlin, and required of him, that he ſhould write a letter of apology to Maupertuis. This requiſition put Voltaire into a rage. He not only refuſed, in the rougheſt manner, to comply

[243] Hiſtorical and Critical Memoirs of the Life and Writings of M. de Voltaire, tranſlated from the French of Dom Chaudon, 8vo. 1776, p. 157.

[244] Ibid. p. 157. [245] Ibid. p. 157.

with

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with what was desired of him, but directed the abbé to tell the king, that "he might go to hell." The abbé, in order to induce Voltaire, to send back another answer, told him, that his majesty had ordered him to bring back his answer *verbatim*; and asked him, whether the answer, which he had given him, was what he was really to deliver to the king? "Yes," replied Voltaire; "and you may "add to it, that I told you, that you might go to "hell with him [246]."

WHEN the abbé de Prades returned to Potsdam, the king desired to know what Voltaire had said to him. The abbé hesitated, and seemed unwilling to deliver his message. But Frederick insisted upon knowing precisely what had passed. The abbé then informed him exactly, and the king appeared highly diverted at Voltaire's vehemence, and at the politeness of his message. He made the abbé repeat it several times, and at every repetition laughed immoderately [247]. The king and Voltaire had afterwards another interview [T]; in which he requested

[246] Villette's Life of Voltaire, ut supra, p. 190.

[247] Ibid. p. 181.

[T] It has been said, that in one of these interviews, Voltaire appeared before the king, holding the *Akakia* in his hand, which he threw into the fire, saying, "There, fire, there are "the remains of that wretched book, which has made me lose "your friendship." Frederick hastened to the fire-place, and endeavoured to save the *Akakia* from the flames, in which he was opposed by Voltaire. The king, however, carried his point,

queſted permiſſion to go to Plombieres, for the benefit of his health. Frederick granted his conſent, and made him promiſe to return. But having afterwards diſcovered, that Voltaire had cauſed the *Akakia* to be printed in Holland, which had occaſioned the preſident of his academy to be laughed at throughout all Europe, and being alſo informed, that Voltaire had written a ſatirical piece againſt himſelf [u], he wrote to him the following letter: CHAP. XIV. A. D. 1753.

'You are at liberty to leave my ſervice whenever 'you pleaſe; but, before you go, let me requeſt 'you to return the contract of your engagment, 'the key, the croſs, and the volume of poetry with 'which I entruſted you. I could wiſh that my

point, burnt his ruffles, and ſaved the book. The ſcene was cloſed by Frederick and Voltaire laughing heartily together, and embracing each other. This ſtory is not very credible. The king would hardly be ſo anxious to ſave a book, of which there were then probably many more copies. The ſtory alſo ſeems too much an imitation of that of the preſident Hainault, who burnt a pair of ruffles in ſaving the *Henriade* from the flames. It has been aſſerted, that the king himſelf had aſſiſted in writing ſome paſſages in Voltaire's ſatires againſt Maupertuis, though he afterwards expreſſed ſo much indignation at their being publiſhed.

[u] This piece was entitled, *La Vie privée du Roi de Pruſſe.* Darget, his ſecretary, requeſted the king to give him leave to write an anſwer to this publication. Frederick replied, "My "dear Darget, it is not worth your while to refute the calum-"nies of this work. It is my buſineſs to do my duty, and to "let malicious people ſay what they pleaſe." Villette's Life of Voltaire, p. 359.

'works

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'works had only been expoſed to the critical obſervations of you and Koenig.

'I cannot regard the cenſures of thoſe, who 'imagine that they raiſe their own reputation, by 'ruining that of others. I have neither the madneſs, nor the vanity, of certain authors. I look 'on the cabals of men of letters as the diſgrace of 'literature, but do not the leſs eſteem thoſe who 'cultivate learning with more liberal minds. My 'contempt falls only on the leaders of parties [248]. 'March 16, 1753.'

AFTER having received this letter, Voltaire quitted Berlin; and when he called to his valet de chambre to aſſiſt him in taking off the croſs of the order of merit, and his chamberlain's key, which he ſent to the king, he ſaid, "Here! diveſt me of "theſe diſgraceful marks of ſervitude." From Berlin he went to Leipſic, where he continued to publiſh ſatirical pieces againſt Maupertuis [v], and from

[248] Chaudon's Memoirs of Voltaire, p. 158, 159.

[v] Maupertuis is ſaid to have been ſo much exaſperated at the ſatires that Voltaire publiſhed againſt him, as to ſend him a letter, threatening to take on him a perſonal revenge. In alluſion to this, the following ludicrous paſſages appeared, in a continuation which Voltaire publiſhed, at Leipſic, of his *Diatriba of Dr. Akakia*. 'The Native of St. Malo's, (Mauper-'tuis,) having been again attacked by his frenzy, has vented his 'ravings againſt his good phyſician, Akakia, who is now ill at 'the city of Leipſic in Germany, and has written him a menac-'ing letter, in which he threatens to come and murder him.

from thence he went to the court of Saxe-Gotha. CHAP. XIV. A. D. 1753.
" I went," ſays he, " to paſs a month with the
" ducheſs

' Since the days of M. de Pourceaugnac, who wanted to viſit ' his phyſician ſword in hand, ſo malicious a patient was never ' known. Dr. Akakia, being alarmed, preſented the following ' petition to the univerſity of Leipſic.

' The Petition of Dr. AKAKIA.

' Dr. AKAKIA having fled for protection to the univerſity of ' Leipſic, where he has ſought an aſylum from the attempts of a ' Laplander, a native of St. Malo's, who has declared he will ' murder him, in the midſt of the univerſity, earneſtly entreats ' the doctors and ſcholars, to arm themſelves againſt that bar- ' barian with their penknives and ink-ſtands; and he particularly ' requeſts his brethren, the phyſicians, to adminiſter a purge to ' the ſaid ſavage, the moment he appears, in order that he may ' evacuate all his peccant humours, and that they may preſerve, ' by their art, the little reaſon ſtill poſſeſſed by this cruel Lap- ' lander, and the life of their good brother Akakia, who re- ' commends himſelf to their protection. He likewiſe intreats ' the apothecaries not to forget themſelves on this occaſion.'

' In conſequence of this petition, the univerſity iſſued a de- ' cree to arreſt the native of St. Malo's, at the gates of the city, ' as ſoon as he ſhould arrive to perpetrate his parricide on the ' good Akakia, who had behaved to him like a father. The ' following is the order of the univerſity, and is ſtill to be ſeen ' in the *Acta Eruditorum*.

' A *Quidam* having written a letter to an inhabitant of Leipſic, ' in which he threatens to murder the ſaid inhabitant; and as ' the murdering of any perſon is manifeſtly contrary to the privi- ' leges of the fair; this is to requeſt all, and every one, to give ' information againſt the ſaid *Quidam*, the moment he ſhall pre- ' ſent himſelf at the gates of Leipſic. He is a philoſopher, ' whoſe gait is in the compound ratio of abſent and precipitate. ' His eyes are round and ſmall, his peruke the ſame, and his noſe

' cruſhed

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" ducheſs of Saxe-Gotha, the beſt princeſs in the " world, the moſt mild, the moſt prudent, and of " the

' cruſhed flat. He has an ill look, a full face, and a full head; ' that is to ſay, full of himſelf. He always carries a *ſcalpel* in ' his pocket, to diſſect tall people. Whoever will give informa- ' tion concerning him, ſhall receive a thouſand ducats reward, ' to be paid at the Latin city, building by the ſaid *Quidam*, or ' out of the comet of gold and diamonds which is ſoon to fall on ' the earth, according to the predictions of the ſaid *Quidam*, ' philoſopher and aſſaſſin.'

' The phyſician, Akakia, alſo wrote a conciliatory epiſtle to ' the native of St. Malo's, of which the following are extracts.

' Mr. Preſident,

' I have received the letter with which you honoured me. ' You inform me, that you are in good health, and that you ' have completely recovered your ſtrength, and you threaten to ' come and murder me.—What ingratitude towards your poor ' phyſician Akakia!—You are not contented with not paying ' him, but are determined to be his aſſaſſin. Such a proceeding ' is unbecoming the preſident of an academy, and a good ' Chriſtian, as you are. Permit me to congratulate you on the ' return of your health; but I have not ſo much ſtrength as you. ' I have kept my bed this fortnight; and, therefore, muſt en- ' treat you to defer the philoſophical experiment, which you ' are ſo deſirous of making. Perhaps you mean to diſſect me; ' but conſider, I am not a giant from *Terra Auſtralis*, and be- ' ſides that my brain is ſo ſmall, that you can acquire no new ' ideas, on the nature of the ſoul, from an examination of its ' fibres.'—' How can you think of carrying your animoſity ſo ' far as to kill me?'—' If you can but heat your imagination juſt ' enough to peep into futurity, you muſt perceive, that if you ' come to murder me at Leipſic, where you are not more beloved ' than any where elſe, and where your letter is depoſited, you ' will run a riſk of being hanged, which would too much haſten

' the

" the moſt equal temper; and who, God be thank- CHAP. XIV.
" ed, did not make verſes. I afterwards ſpent a A. D.
" few days at the country-houſe of the landgrave 1753.
" of Heſſe, who was ſtill a remove farther from
" poetry than the princeſs of Saxe Gotha. Thus
" I took breath, and thence continued, by ſhort
" journies, my route to Franckfort, where a very
" whimſical kind of deſtiny awaited me [249]."

At Franckfort on the Maine Voltaire was arreſted, on the firſt of June, 1753, at the deſire of the Pruſſian reſident. One reaſon for detaining him was, to oblige him to give up the contract which the king had made with him, and by which he had bound himſelf to pay to him twenty thouſand livres a year: but the principal reaſon was, to get from him a volume of the king's poetry, which Voltaire had in his poſſeſſion, and which, he ſaid, Frederick had given him. Voltaire declared, that he would readily give up the contract, and the volume of poetry, but that he had left them both at Leipſic with his other effects; however, he pledged his honour, and gave a written promiſe, not to abſent himſelf from Franckfort, without per-

' the moment of your maturity, and be quite unbecoming the ' preſident of an academy.'

' P. S. As we have here fifty or ſixty perſons who have ridi- ' culed you prodigiouſly, they beg leave to inquire, on what ' day it is that you intend to murder them all.'—Hiſtorical and Critical Memoirs of Voltaire, by Dom Chaudon, p. 164—169.

[249] Memoires de Voltaire, p. 129, 130.

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miſſion, or without ſatisfying the demands that had been made upon him. Notwithſtanding this engagement, the magiſtrates of Franckfort were informed, much to their ſurprize, that he had ſuddenly left that place. He was immediately purſued, and brought back to the city under a guard of ten ſoldiers. The reaſon he aſſigned for his departure was, that he intended to try the waters of Viſbaden [250]. When he had delivered up the volume of the king's poetry, he expected to have been ſet at liberty, but he was ſtill detained, together with his niece, madam Denis, who was then with him. He might now, perhaps, be detained, till he had given up the king's contract with him. Voltaire himſelf ſays, 'On the twelfth 'of June, the packet of poetry came, and I faith-'fully gave up the ſacred depoſit, imagining that 'I might then depart, without offence to any 'crowned head. But at the very inſtant when I was 'ſetting off, I was again arreſted, together with 'my ſecretary, and my ſervants. They even ar-'reſted my niece; and four ſoldiers dragged her, 'through the middle of the dirt, to the houſe of 'M. Schmitt, who had, by I know not what right, 'the title of privy-counſellor to the king of Pruſſia. 'This Franckfort trader thought himſelf at that 'time a Pruſſian general. He commanded twelve 'of the town guards, with all the importance and

[250] D. Chaudon's Hiſt. and Crit. Memoirs of Voltaire, p. 159.

'grandeur,

'grandeur, which an affair of such consequence 'required. My niece had a passport from the 'king of France; and, moreover, had never cor- 'rected the king of Prussia's verses. Women are 'usually respected even amidst the horrors of war; 'but the counsellor Schmitt, and the resident 'Freitag, endeavoured to pay their court to Frede- 'rick, by hauling one of the fair sex through the 'mud. They shut us up in a kind of inn, at the 'door of which the twelve soldiers were posted. 'Four others were placed in my chamber, four in 'the garret, where they had conducted my niece, 'and four in a still more wretched garret, where 'my secretary was laid upon straw. My niece, 'indeed, was allowed a small bed; but four sol- 'diers, with fixed bayonets, served her instead of 'curtains and chamber-maids.'—'We were de- 'tained for twelve days as prisoners of war, for 'which we paid one hundred and forty crowns a 'day. The merchant Schmitt had seized on all 'my effects, which were returned to me one half 'lighter. One need not wish to pay dearer for the 'poetry of the king of Prussia. I lost about as 'much as it had cost him, to send for me, and take 'my lessons; so that we were quits at parting[251].'

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In a letter, written some time after to his niece, referring to the treatment which she and himself had received at Franckfort, Voltaire says, 'I

[251] Memoires de Voltaire, p. 135—137.

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'ſometimes imagine, that all this muſt have been a 'dream, or that it happened in the time of the 'tyrant of Syracuſe. I aſk myſelf, whether it can 'poſſibly be true, that a French lady, travelling 'with the paſſport of the king of France, ſhould 'have been dragged through the ſtreets of Franck-'fort by ſoldiers, and thrown into priſon, without 'any form of law, or without her ſervant being 'permitted to attend her; while four ſoldiers, with 'their bayonets fixed, kept guard at the door; 'and when ſhe was forced to ſuffer the clerk of 'Freitag, a raſcal of the loweſt order, to paſs the 'whole night in her chamber. When La Brin-'villiers [w] was arreſted, the executioner was 'never left alone with her. There has been no 'example of ſuch indecent barbarity. And what 'was your crime? That you had made a journey 'of two hundred leagues, to accompany a dying 'uncle, whom you conſider as your father, to the 'waters of Plombieres. It is not honourable to 'the king of Pruſſia, that he has made no atone-'ment for ſo ſhameful an inſult, committed in his 'name, and by one who ſtiled himſelf his miniſter. 'As to myſelf, he had cauſed me to be arreſted 'for having in my poſſeſſion a printed volume of 'his poetry, of which he had made me a preſent,

[w] The marchioneſs de Brinvilliers, who poiſoned her father, her two brothers, and her ſiſter, becauſe they had procured her lover, St. Croix, to be ſent to the Baſtile. She was beheaded, and afterwards burnt, in 1679.

'and

'and to which I had ſome right. He had beſtowed 'it on me as a pledge of his kindneſs, and as the 'reward of my care. He wiſhed to receive back 'his preſent; and for that purpoſe he had nothing 'to do but to ſpeak the word. It was not worth 'while to impriſon an old man, who was going to 'take the benefit of the waters. He ſhould have 'remembered, that for fifteen years paſt he has 'prepoſſeſſed my mind by his ſeducing kindneſſes, 'and that he has drawn me out of my native 'country in my old age; that I have laboured two 'ſucceſſive years for his improvement; that I 'have faithfully ſerved him, and never been any 'way deficient in my duty; and finally, that it was 'very much beneath his rank, and his glory, to 'take part in an academical diſpute, and to con-'clude his favours by ſending ſoldiers to demand 'back his poetry [252].'

CHAP. XIV. A. D. 1753.

Of the conduct of the king of Pruſſia in this tranſaction, I have never met with any vindication. The principal reaſon aſſigned, for his cauſing Voltaire to be arreſted at Franckfort, was, an apprehenſion that he intended to turn his poems into ridicule. But no ridicule that Voltaire could have thrown on the king of Pruſſia's poetry, would have reflected on him ſo much diſhonour, as his manner of ſtopping him at Franckfort, and regaining poſſeſſion of the poetical volume that he had

[252] Idee du Roi de Pruſſe, p. 50—56.

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given him. Even allowing for ſome exaggeration in the repreſentations of Voltaire, yet, when the manner in which he was invited to the Pruſſian court is conſidered, the conduct of Frederick appears to have been totally indefenſible.

AFTER Voltaire had obtained his liberty at Franckfort, he went to Mentz, where he ſtopt ſome time, "to dry his clothes," as he ſaid, "after his ſhipwreek." He afterwards proceeded to Manheim, where he was received with great reſpect by the elector palatine

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

Frederick oppoſes the election of a king of the Romans.—He detains a part of the debt due to Britiſh ſubjects from the Sileſian revenues, by way of repriſals for captures of Pruſſian veſſels, made by Britiſh cruizers.—He viſits the city of Amſterdam, in company with colonel Balbi.—Oppoſition made by him to the ſubſidiary treaty entered into between Great Britain and Ruſſia.—He concludes himſelf a treaty with the king of Great Britain.

CHAP. XV. A. D. 1753.

AMONG the political objects, which engaged the attention of the king of Pruſſia at the preſent period, one was, the prevention of the election of a king of the Romans. It was the earneſt deſire of the court of Vienna, to obtain this dignity for the arch-duke Joſeph, eldeſt ſon and heir of the reigning emperor, in order thereby to ſecure his future elevation to the imperial throne. This deſign was ſtrongly ſupported by the king of Great Britain, who even gave ſubſidies to ſome of the German princes to promote the meaſure, which he conſidered as calculated to ſecure the peace of Germany, and to prevent ſuch troubles as had ariſen from a diſputed ſucceſſion at the death of Charles the Sixth. But the king of Pruſſia oppoſed this deſign with great firmneſs, though with much appearance of moderation. When the im-

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perial miniſter at Berlin communicated to him the ſentiments of his Britannick majeſty on this ſubject, and alſo ſolicited his vote for the archduke Joſeph, when the election of a king of the Romans ſhould be propoſed to the electoral college, Frederick replied, That he was extremely well diſpoſed to manifeſt his regard for their imperial majeſties, and to give them moſt genuine proofs of it, even in the propoſed election of a king of the Romans, from a regard to the great merit of the preſent candidate, the archduke Joſeph. But he left it to the conſideration of their imperial majeſties, whether the election would not be a little premature, if tranſacted at a time when his imperial majeſty was in the flower of his age, enjoying perfect health; and when all Europe, particularly the empire, was in a ſtate of profound tranquility; ſo that no circumſtance ſeemed to point out the neceſſity of ſuch an election. He alſo remarked, that, in caſe of the emperor's death, Germany would find herſelf in a very diſagreeable ſituation, under the government of a minor. For theſe reaſons, he ſaid, he could not help adviſing their imperial majeſties to wait till the archduke ſhould be of age, when his election might be carried on with more conformity to the laws and conſtitutions of the empire, and in a manner more ſuitable to the majeſty of the whole Germanic body [253]. This reply he cauſed to be

[253] Smollett's Hiſt. of England from the Revolution, vol. III. p. 273, 297, 298.

circulated

circulated among the electors, and particularly transmitted it to the king of Great Britain. He recommended it to the electors, that they ſhould deliberate maturely on this ſubject, and confer together in a body as well as in private, that they might proceed according to the antient cuſtom of the electoral college, and take ſuch meaſures as ſhould be judged expedient for the honour and advantage of the whole German empire. He alſo obſerved, that the reaſons for electing a king of the Romans ought to be ſubmitted to all the ſtates of the empire, and not merely to the electoral college.

THE circular letter of the king of Pruſſia was anſwered both by the king of Great Britain and the elector of Bavaria; and they aſſerted, that it was the privilege of the electoral college only, without any participation of the other princes of the empire, to elect a king of the Romans during the life of the emperor, in order to maintain the peace, and preſerve the liberties of Germany; and that the neglect of this wiſe precaution had produced bloody wars, and many fatal conſequences to the empire. They obſerved, that nothing could more contribute to the eſtabliſhment of the public tranquility than this meaſure, which was ardently deſired by the majority of the German princes; and that, although the archduke Joſeph wanted a few years of being of age, and the death of the reigning emperor might poſſibly happen during that

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that prince's minority, yet it would be much leſs prejudicial to the empire to have a minor chief, than to ſee the ſucceſſion altogether unſettled. The Pruſſian monarch alſo received a declaration to the ſame purpoſe from the elector of Mentz; and underſtanding that this prince, as arch-chancellor of the empire, intended to convoke an electoral diet, in order to propoſe the election of a king of the Romans, he wrote an elaborate letter to his electoral highneſs, explaining more particularly his reaſons for poſtponing the election. He quoted an article of the treaty of Weſtphalia, which expreſsly declares, that the election of a king of the Romans ſhall be diſcuſſed and ordained by the common conſent of the ſtates of the empire; and, therefore, he could not, he ſaid, conceive, what right the electoral college had to arrogate this privilege to themſelves, in excluſion of the other ſtates of the empire. He obſerved, that the imperial capitulations, which were the only laws of the empire that treated of this ſubject, mentioned only three caſes in which it was lawful to proceed to ſuch an election; namely, the emperor's leaving Germany, and long abſence from it; his advanced age, or ſuch an indiſpoſition, as rendered him incapable of managing the concerns of government; and any caſe of emergency, in which the preſervation of the proſperity of the empire was intereſted. He affirmed, that none of theſe caſes at preſent exiſted; that, in caſe the imperial crown ſhould devolve

devolve to a minor, many miſchiefs and diſorders must enſue, as the conſtitutions of the empire had eſtabliſhed no regulations nor regency in that event; that an election of this nature, carried on under the power, influence, and authority of the head of the empire, would ſtrike at the fundamental privileges of the princes and ſtates; and, conſequently, would in time overturn the conſtitution of the empire, and totally change the nature of the imperial office; which, from being an elective dignity, conferred by the free and independent ſuffrages of the electoral college and ſtates of Germany, under certain capitulations, obliging the prince thus choſen to govern according to law, would become an hereditary ſucceſſion, perpetuated in one family, which, of courſe, muſt be aggrandized to the prejudice of its co-eſtates, and the ruin of the Germanic liberties [*54].

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THE objections urged by the king of Pruſſia, againſt raiſing the archduke Joſeph to the dignity of king of the Romans, were not altogether without reaſon; and it was natural that he ſhould be averſe to a meaſure, which tended to the aggrandizement of the houſe of Auſtria. He was, however, ſuſpected, of having ſome reaſons againſt the meaſure, which he did not openly avow [x]. But

[*54] Smollett's Hiſt. of England from the Revolution, vol. III. p. 299.

[x] Dr. Smollett ſays, 'Perhaps, if the truth was known, 'this enterprizing prince had projected ſome great ſcheme, with 'the

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the deſign was ſtill proſecuted with great warmth by the king of Great Britain and the court of Vienna; and the latter even endeavoured to induce the king of Pruſſia to favour it, by conſenting that the treaty of Dreſden, confirming to him the poſſeſſion of Sileſia, ſhould be guarantied by the diet of the empire; a ſanction which he now actually obtained, together with the ratification of his imperial majeſty [255]. Notwithſtanding this conceſſion, Frederick ſtill continued to oppoſe the election of a king of the Romans; and, by his perſevering oppoſition, the execution of the ſcheme was prevented for many years.

ABOUT this time the king of Pruſſia publiſhed a declaration of his determination, to ſeize upon a part of the Sileſian revenues, which were due to the merchants of Great Britain, in order to indemnify his ſubjects for the loſſes which they had ſuſtained, by the depredations and violences which had been committed on them, by Engliſh ſhips of war,

'the execution of which this propoſed eſtabliſhment would have 'interfered. Certain it is, he exerted himſelf with that ſpirit 'and perſeverance which were peculiar to his character, to 'fruſtrate the intention of the courts of London and Vienna in 'this particular, and was aſſiſted with all the intrigue of the 'French miniſtry.' Hiſt. vol. III. p. 300. In another place the ſame hiſtorian intimates a ſuſpicion, that the king of Pruſſia himſelf "aſpired in ſecret at the imperial dignity." Ibid. p. 315.

[255] Smollett's Hiſt. of England from the Revolution, vol. III. p. 301.

war, and privateers, on the high ſeas. He alleged, that eighteen Pruſſian ſhips, and thirty-three neutral veſſels, in which the ſubjects of Pruſſia were concerned, had been unjuſtly ſeized by Engliſh cruizers. The damages were ſtated by him to amount to a very conſiderable ſum; and he maintained, that it was agreeable to the law of nations, to indemnify his ſubjects out of the money belonging to the Engliſh which was then in his hands [256].

An anſwer to the Pruſſian memorial was drawn up by ſome of the ableſt Engliſh civilians; and they contended, that according to the law of nations, when two powers were at war, all ſhips were liable to be ſtopt, and examined to whom they belong, and whether they were carrying contraband goods to the enemy; and that captures by ſea fell properly under the cognizance of thoſe powers, under whoſe juriſdiction the ſeizures were made. His Pruſſian majeſty, therefore, could not, they ſaid, conſiſtently with the law of nations, determine theſe diſputes in his own tribunals. They proved, that many of the facts ſtated in the Pruſſian memorial were not true; and they aſſerted, and produced evidence in ſupport of their aſſertions, that where appeals had been made to the Engliſh courts of admiralty, impartial juſtice had been adminiſtered. They maintained, that the law of nations, founded upon juſtice, equity, and reaſon, did not allow of repriſals, except in caſe of violent injuries,

[256] London Magazine, vol. XXI. p. 603, 604, 605.

directed

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directed or ſupported by the ſtate, and when juſtice was abſolutely denied by all the tribunals, and afterwards by the prince. At all events, his Pruſſian majeſty could have no right to ſtop any part of thoſe Sileſian revenues, which were due to Britiſh ſubjects. He had engaged his royal word to pay the Sileſia debt to private men. The debt was negotiable, and many parts of it had been aſſigned to the ſubjects of other powers. It would not be eaſy to find any inſtance, in which a prince had thought proper to make repriſals upon a debt due from himſelf to private men. There was always a confidence that this would not be done; becauſe a private man lends money to a prince upon the faith of an engagement of honour; it being well known, that a prince could not be compelled, like other men, in an adverſe way, by a court of juſtice. So ſcrupulouſly had England, France, and Spain, adhered to the public faith in this reſpect, that even during the war they ſuffered no inquiry to be made, whether any part of the public debts was due to ſubjects of the enemy; though it was certain, that many of the Engliſh had money in the French funds, and that many of the French had money in the funds of England.

THE Engliſh civilians farther proved, from the nature of the Sileſia loan, that the king of Pruſſia could have no right to attach any part of it under the pretence of repriſals. This loan had been made to the late emperor of Germany, Charles VI.

in

in the year 1735. It was not a ſtate tranſaction, but a mere private contract with the lenders, who had advanced their money, upon the emperor's obliging himſelf and his heirs to repay the principal with intereſt, at the rate, in the manner, and at the times in the contract mentioned, without any delay, demur, deduction, or abatement whatſoever. As a ſpecific real ſecurity the emperor had mortgaged his revenues of Upper and Lower Sileſia, for the payment both of principal and intereſt; and the whole debt was to be diſcharged in the year 1745. If the money could not be paid out of the revenues of Sileſia, the emperor and his heirs ſtill remained debtors, and were bound to pay. The empreſs-queen, therefore, made it a condition of her yielding the duchy of Sileſia to his Pruſſian majeſty, that he ſhould ſtand in the place of the late emperor with reſpect to this debt. In conſideration of this ceſſion, the king of Pruſſia had engaged to her, both by the treaty of Breſlaw, and by that of Dreſden, that he would pay the money due to the ſubjects of England by the empreſs queen, according to the contract ſigned at London; and conſequently had bound himſelf to ſtand in the place of the late emperor, in reſpect to this money, to all intents and purpoſes whatſoever. The late emperor could not have ſeized this money as repriſals, or even in caſe of open war between the two nations, becauſe his faith was engaged to pay it without any delay, demur, deduction, or

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abatement whatſoever. The king of Pruſſia, therefore, could have no right to ſeize this money by way of repriſals; and this was the more manifeſt, becauſe the whole debt was to have been diſcharged in 1745, which was prior to any of the ſeizures ſtated to have been made by Engliſh cruizers. If the contract had not been broken, the money which was now attached would not have been in poſſeſſion of his Pruſſian majeſty [257].

THOUGH theſe reaſons were unanſwerable, they did not produce their proper effect on the king of Pruſſia. Of the Sileſia debt, he detained two hundred thouſand crowns, by way of repriſals [258]. In this tranſaction his conduct was unjuſtifiable. It was commendable in him to endeavour to ſecure a free navigation to his ſubjects; but he had no right to invade the property of private men, or to ſeize money which he had bound himſelf to pay by a ſolemn contract. The Britiſh government did not behave with much dignity on this occaſion; but the fact ſeems to have been, that his Britannick majeſty, from his great concern for his electoral dominions, was extremely unwilling to embroil himſelf with his good nephew, the king of Pruſſia.

IN the month of June, 1755, the king of Pruſſia went to Cleves, from whence he proceeded *incognito* to Nimeguen, and from thence to Amſterdam,

[257] Univ. Mag. vol. XII. p. 91—93.

[258] Memoire Hiſtorique ſur la derniere annee, &c. par le compte de Hertzberg, p. 16.

sterdam, accompanied only by colonel Balbi, and one servant [259]. He very particularly viewed the harbour and the shipping; and, during his stay at Amsterdam, was much pleased with the house of M. Brankamp, a merchant, who had a fine collection of pictures, and also with the house of the Jew Pinto. When Frederick went to the house of M. Brankamp, that gentleman was not at home; and his wife would not suffer the king to enter the room in which he was to wait for her husband, till he had pulled off his shoes, which were not sufficiently clean for the neatness of her apartment. Mrs. Brankamp is also said to have been of so intractable a temper, that after her husband had returned, and acquainted her with the high rank of their guest, she maintained that she had acted rightly, and refused to make any apology for the liberty that she had taken with the Prussian monarch. As Frederick found, that his being at Amsterdam soon began to be rumoured about, he hastily quitted the city with his companion the colonel, and went back to Cleves, from whence he returned to Potsdam.

CHAP. XV. A. D. 1755.

DURING the course of the year 1755, a treaty was concluded between Great Britain and Russia, which particularly excited the attention of the king of Prussia. His Britannick majesty having entered into a war with France, and being anxious to secure

[259] Gent. Mag. vol. XXV. p. 330. London Mag. vol. XXIV. p. 398.

CHAP. XV. A. D. 1755. his electoral dominions, concluded a treaty with the empreſs of Ruſſia, by which it was ſtipulated, that in caſe the dominions of his Britannick majeſty in Germany ſhould be invaded, on account of intereſts or diſputes which regarded his kingdoms, her imperial majeſty was to furniſh him with a body of troops conſiſting of forty thouſand infantry, with the neceſſary artillery, and fifteen thouſand cavalry, and alſo forty or fifty galleys, with the neceſſary crews. Theſe ſuccours were to be furniſhed, whenever they ſhould be applied for by the king of Great Britain; who was to pay to the empreſs of Ruſſia a ſubſidy of one hundred thouſand pounds ſterling a year, which was to continue for four years; but while the Ruſſian troops were engaged in actual ſervice, the ſubſidy was to be raiſed to five hundred thouſand pounds ſterling annually. His Britannick majeſty alſo, in caſe the empreſs of Ruſſia ſhould be herſelf attacked, was to ſend a ſquadron of Britiſh men of war into the Baltick [200]. This treaty gave ſo much umbrage to the king of Pruſſia [Y], that he immediately declared, by his miniſters at all the courts of Europe, that he would

[200] London Magazine, vol. XXIV. p. 577, 578, 579.

[Y] From ſome of the clauſes in this ſubſidiary treaty, concluded between Great Britain and Ruſſia, it was generally underſtood, that it was particularly intended by the treaty, not only to defend Hanover againſt any invaſion of the French, but alſo againſt any attack that might be made againſt that electorate by the king of Pruſſia.

oppoſe

oppoſe with his utmoſt force the entrance of any foreign troops into the empire, under any pretence whatſoever [261]. This declaration embarraſſed both the Britiſh and Ruſſian courts, and even gave offence to the court of France. For the French monarch had already marched large bodies of troops towards the frontiers of the empire, and erected ſeveral great magazines in Weſtphalia, with the permiſſion of the elector of Cologn. In this ſtate of things, the monarchs of Great Britain and France both endeavoured to enter into a treaty with the king of Pruſſia; and the duke de Nivernois was ſent as ambaſſador extraordinary to Berlin, to endeavour to perſuade his Pruſſian majeſty to retract his declaration, and enter into a new alliance with France. Voltaire ſays, that the French king, from a deſire of retaining the king of Pruſſia in his alliance, ſent 'the duke de Nivernois, a man of 'wit, and who made very pretty verſes, as his 'ambaſſador. The embaſſy of a duke, a peer, 'and a poet, ſeemed likely to flatter the vanity and 'the taſte of Frederick; but he laughed at the 'king of France, and ſigned his treaty with Eng-'land, the ſame day that the ambaſſador arrived 'at Berlin. He played off the duke and the peer 'very happily [z], and made an epigram upon the 'poet [262].'

[261] Smollett, ut ſupra, p. 431.

[262] Memoires de Voltaire, p. 149.

[z] He entertained the duke de Nivernois at Berlin with the utmoſt magnificence, and treated him with ſo much diſtinction,

CHAP. XV. A. D. 1756.

THE treaty between Great Britain and Pruſſia was ſigned on the ſixteenth of January, 1756. By this treaty it was declared, that, for the defence of their common country, Germany, and in order to preſerve her peace and tranquility, which it was feared was in danger of being diſturbed, on account of the diſputes in America, the two kings of Great Britain and Pruſſia, for that end only, entered into a convention of neutrality, by which they reciprocally bound themſelves not to ſuffer foreign troops of any nation whatſoever to enter into Germany, or paſs through it, during the troubles aforeſaid, and the conſequences that might reſult from them; but to oppoſe the ſame with their utmoſt might, in order to ſecure Germany from the calamities of war, maintain her fundamental laws and conſtitutions, and preſerve her peace uninterrupted [263]. An article was alſo added in this treaty relative to the Sileſia loan, and by which private perſons were prevented from being injured by the king of Pruſſia's detention of the funds for the payment of it. It was ſtipulated, that Great Britain ſhould pay twenty thouſand pounds, as an indemnification for the captures of the merchandize which was taken on board Pruſſian bottoms, and ſold during the

that the court of England began to be apprehenſive, that Frederick was about to renew his engagements with France. The miniſter ſent to the Pruſſian court from his Britannick majeſty was Andrew Mitchell, Eſq.

[263] Smollett, ut ſupra, p. 446.

war;

war; and that, in return, the king of Pruſſia ſhould pay the whole of the Sileſia loan [264]. By this treaty with the king of Pruſſia, the late treaty between Great Britain and Ruſſia was virtually renounced. The Pruſſian treaty, however, was far from promoting peace in Germany, nor did it ſecure Hanover from invaſion; but it was a principal cauſe of involving Great Britain in a long, burthenſome, and expenſive continental war, which greatly increaſed the public debt, and was highly injurious to the nation. CHAP. XV. A. D. 1756.

BEFORE the treaty had taken place between Great Britain and Pruſſia, or that between Great Britain and Ruſſia, his Britannick majeſty, on the commencement of the war between him and the king of France, had made application to the empreſs-queen, to obtain ſuch auxiliaries as ſhe was to furniſh him with by treaty. But her imperial majeſty, who did not diſcover much gratitude for the ſervices ſhe had received from Great Britain, declined furniſhing thoſe auxiliaries, under the pretence, that as the conteſt between France and England related to America only, it was not a caſe of the alliance; and ſhe afterwards alſo declined even defending the Barrier in the Low Countries, alleging, that ſhe could not ſpare troops for that purpoſe, on account of the hoſtile preparations that appeared to be making againſt her by the king of

[264] Entick's General Hiſt. of the War from 1755 to 1763, vol. I. p. 256, edit. 1784.

CHAP. XV. A. D. 1756.

Pruſſia. She undertook, however, to procure the French king's conſent to a neutrality for Hanover [A]; but this his Britannick majeſty rejected. An alliance was afterwards entered into between the

[A] Dr. Smollett remarks, that this would have effectually ſecured the electorate of Hanover 'from the invaſion of every 'other power but Pruſſia itſelf; and it is no ſtrained conjecture 'to ſuppoſe, that the dread of this very power was the true 'ſource of thoſe connexions in Germany, which entailed ſuch a 'ruinous continental war upon Great Britain.' Hiſt. vol. III. p. 433, 444. In another place, this hiſtorian obſerves, that 'Had his Britannick majeſty made a requiſition of the Ruſſian 'auxiliaries, he muſt have expoſed himſelf to the reſentment of a 'warlike monarch, (the king of Pruſſia) who hovered on the 'ſkirts of his electorate, at the head of one hundred and forty 'thouſand men, and could have ſubdued the whole country in 'one week; and, if he forebore to avail himſelf of the treaty 'with the czarina, he did not know how ſoon the king of 'Pruſſia might be reconciled to his moſt Chriſtian majeſty's de-'ſign of invaſion.' Ibid. vol. IV. p. 3, 4. In another place, the ſame writer ſays, 'Perhaps the elector of Hanover was more 'afraid of the Pruſſian monarch than of the moſt Chriſtian king, 'knowing with what eaſe and rapidity this enterprizing neigh-'bour could in a few days ſubdue the whole electorate.' Ibid. vol. III. p. 432.

When Voltaire was at Potſdam, in the year 1743, and was employed in endeavouring to perſuade the king of Pruſſia to enter into a new alliance with France, he repreſents Frederick as not influenced by any friendly ſentiments towards the king of Great Britain. He informs us, that he ſometimes ſent his reflexions upon paper, left half blank, from his apartment to that of the king, and Frederick anſwered his remarks in the margin. 'I have this paper ſtill,' ſays Voltaire, in which I have ſaid, "Can it be doubted, that the houſe of Auſtria will ſeize the "very

the court of Vienna and that of Verſailles, in which the court of Peterſburgh alſo concurred; and theſe new connections produced, in the ſyſtem of European politics, a great and important revolution.

CHAP. XV. A. D. 1756.

" very firſt opportunity to recover Silefia from you?" To which Frederick anſwered in the margin:

' *Ils ſeront reçûs, biribi,*
' *A la façon de Barbari,*
' *Mon ami.*

' This new kind of negociation was ended by a diſcourſe, ' which, in one of his moments of vivacity, he made againſt ' the king of England, his dear uncle. Theſe two kings did not ' love one another. My Pruſſian monarch told me, that " George " was the uncle of Frederick, but not of the king of Pruſſia;" and he ended by ſaying, " Let France declare war againſt England, and I will march." Memoirs, p. 107, 108.

CHAP. XVI.

Jealouſy and apprehenſion excited in the neighbouring powers, by the great army of the king of Pruſſia, his military preparations, and his indefatigable diligence in exerciſing his troops.—Eventual treaty of partition entered into againſt him, in caſe of his giving riſe to a new war.—Declaration of his Britannick majeſty, relative to the treaty concluded between him and the king of Pruſſia.

CHAP. XVI. A. D. 1756.

THE numerous army, which was conſtantly kept up by the king of Pruſſia, the indefatigable diligence with which he exerciſed his troops, his enterprizing ſpirit, and the manner in which he had wreſted Sileſia from the houſe of Auſtria, naturally excited jealouſy and apprehenſion in the ſtates that ſurrounded him. No prince of inferior power could conſider himſelf as perfectly ſafe near ſuch a neighbour; and even the moſt potent ſtates ſeemed to think it neceſſary to guard againſt his deſigns. As to himſelf, he appeared to be always prepared for war. Count Hertzberg ſays, that "his principal attention was always "turned to thoſe dangerous deſigns, which he "ſuppoſed to be entertained by the court of "Vienna, for the recovery of Sileſia [265]." The fact was, that Frederick knew, that he had obtain-

[265] Mémoire Hiſtorique ſur la dernière annee, &c. p. 17.

ed

ed Sileſia in ſuch a manner, by taking advantage of the critical ſituation of Maria Thereſa on her acceſſion, by attacking her ſo unexpectedly, and when ſhe was ſo little prepared for ſuch an event, that there was little reaſon to imagine, that his conduct could ever be forgiven by the court of Vienna. His ſudden irruption into Bohemia, in 1744, had alſo led the empreſs-queen, and her miniſters, to ſuppoſe, that whenever a favourable opportunity occurred, the ambition of his Pruſſian majeſty would lead him to aim at other conqueſts beſides that of Sileſia. CHAP. XVI. A. D. 1756.

THE king of Poland, elector of Saxony, through whoſe electoral dominions the king of Pruſſia had repeatedly marched his troops without his conſent, was alſo jealous of the deſigns of the king of Pruſſia, and much inclined to join with thoſe princes, who were deſirous of oppoſing the proceedings, and reducing the power of Frederick. On the eighteenth of May, 1745, a treaty was concluded between the courts of Vienna and Saxony, wherein was the following paſſage: 'Experience having but too 'well ſhewn to what lengths the king of Pruſſia 'carries his evil intentions, in order to diſturb the 'repoſe of his neighbours; and that prince having, 'on the one hand, repeatedly invaded and laid 'waſte the dominions of her majeſty the queen of 'Hungary and Bohemia, and, on the other, alarm-'ed his majeſty the king of Poland, elector of 'Saxony, by ſeveral menaces, warlike prepara-

'tions,

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'tions, and violent paſſages through his territories, 'for which it has not been poſſible to obtain due 'ſatisfaction for time paſt, nor ſufficient ſecurity 'for the future; it has been conſidered, that this 'double end cannot be obtained, till the ſaid for-'midable neighbour is confined within narrow 'bounds [266].' It was farther ſtated, that for theſe reaſons, his majeſty the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, as an auxiliary ally, and her majeſty the queen of Hungary and Bohemia, as a party attacked and actually at war, did mutually agree, that neither the one nor the other ſhould lay down their arms, till, beſides the conqueſt of all Sileſia, and the county of Glatz, the king of Pruſſia ſhould be farther reduced. In this treaty it was alſo ſtipulated, that in caſe Auſtria and Saxony united ſhould be able to take from the king of Pruſſia the provinces particularly ſpecified, the court of Vienna ſhould have the duchy of Sileſia and the county of Glatz; and the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, the duchies of Magdeburgh and Croſſen, the circles of Zullichau and Swibus, together with that part of Luſatia belonging to Pruſſia; or only part of thoſe provinces, in proportion to their conqueſts [267].

THIS treaty was ſoon after rendered abortive by the concluſion of the peace of Dreſden, which put

[266] Memorial, exhibiting the conduct of the courts of Vienna and Dreſden, &c. publiſhed in the Memoirs of Frederick III. king of Pruſſia, p. 188.

[267] Id. ibid.

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an end to all hoſtilities between the contending powers. It was, however, afterwards in ſome degree revived, when a defenſive alliance was concluded at Peterſburgh, between the courts of Ruſſia and Vienna, on the 22d of May, 1746, and to which the elector of Saxony was invited to accede. Count Bruhl, miniſter to the latter, had, indeed, taken abundant pains to incenſe the empreſs of Ruſſia, and her miniſters, againſt the king of Pruſſia, and to give them the moſt unfavourable conceptions of his views and deſigns. For this purpoſe, he had not ſcrupled to employ improper intrigues, and ſometimes procured falſhoods to be artfully propagated, and communicated as truths to the Ruſſian court [168].

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THE treaty of defenſive alliance concluded between the courts of Ruſſia and Vienna, at Peterſburgh, contained, beſides the public articles, ſeveral private articles, which were particularly levelled againſt the king of Pruſſia, one of which was as follows: 'Her majeſty, the empreſs-queen of 'Hungary and Bohemia, declares, that ſhe will 'obſerve, religiouſly and *bona fide*, the peace con-'cluded at Dreſden, between her majeſty and the 'king of Pruſſia, on the 25th of December, 1745; 'and that ſhe will not, firſt, depart from the re-'nunciation of the right ſhe formerly had to that 'part of the duchy of Sileſia, and to the county of

[168] Conduct of the Courts of Vienna and Saxony expoſed, *ut ſupra*, p. 209, 215, 216, &c.

'Glatz,

CHAP. XVI.

'Glatz, which have been yielded up. But if, 'contrary to all expectation and common deſire of 'both the contracting parties, his majeſty the king 'of Pruſſia ſhould, firſt, recede from the ſaid 'peace, whether by hoſtilely attacking her majeſty 'the empreſs queen of Hungary and Bohemia, her 'heirs and ſucceſſors, or her imperial majeſty of 'all the Ruſſias, or even the republic of Poland; 'in all which caſes, the ſaid empreſs queen's right 'to the ſaid part of Sileſia, and the county of 'Glatz, yielded up by the above-mentioned peace, 'and, conſequently, her imperial majeſty's guaranty 'thereof, renewed by the firſt and ſecond articles of 'this treaty, ſhould again take place, and reaſſume 'their full force and vigour: both the ſaid high 'contracting parties have, in ſuch an unexpected 'caſe, but not ſooner, expreſsly agreed, that the 'ſaid guaranty ſhall fully take place, and be com- 'pletely fulfilled, with this additional and moſt 'binding promiſe; that, in order to avert the 'common danger of ſuch an hoſtile attack, they 'will immediately enter into the moſt cloſe and 'confidential concert; ſtrictly enjoin the ſame 'mutual confidence and good underſtanding to 'their reſpective miniſters at foreign courts; and 'faithfully communicate to each other whatever 'either of them ſhall diſcover of the views, de- 'ſigns, or intentions of the enemy: and, laſtly, 'hold in readineſs, in the bordering or neareſt 'counties, viz. her Roman imperial majeſty in 'Bohemia,

'Bohemia, Moravia, and Hungary; and her Ruſ-
'ſian imperial majeſty in Livonia, Eſtonia, and
'other neighbouring places, thirty thouſand men
'at leaſt, namely, twenty thouſand foot, and ten
'thouſand horſe; in ſuch manner, that whenever
'Pruſſia ſhall make an hoſtile attack upon either
'of the parties, the ſaid thirty thouſand men may,
'within two months at fartheſt, or at the utmoſt
'three months after a previous and amicable re-
'quiſition, march to the aſſiſtance of the army at-
'tacked. But as it is eaſy to foreſee, that ſixty
'thouſand men will not be ſufficient to repel an
'hoſtile attack, to re-conquer the provinces ceded
'by the treaty of Dreſden, and to ſecure the pub-
'lic tranquility more effectually for the time to
'come; the two contracting parties have therefore
'farther engaged themſelves to each other, that,
'in the caſe aforeſaid, not only thirty thouſand
'men, but double that number, viz. ſixty thou-
'ſand men, that is to ſay, forty thouſand foot, and
'twenty thouſand horſe, ſhall be employed for that
'purpoſe, by each contracting party, and the
'ſooner the better; both their ſaid imperial ma-
'jeſties obliging themſelves, to that end, to aſ-
'ſemble reſpectively the ſaid number of ſixty thou-
'ſand men, as ſpeedily as the diſtance of the leaſt
'remote parts, from whence the troops can be
'drawn, will poſſibly admit. The troops to be
'appointed for that purpoſe, on the part of her
'Ruſſian imperial majeſty, ſhall be employed as
'well

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'well by land as by water, according as the occa-
'fions ſhall then be found moſt proper; but, on
'the part of her Roman imperial majeſty, they
'ſhall be employed by land only; in ſuch a man-
'ner, that the ſaid troops may, in the beginning,
'as mutual conveniency ſhall allow, and after pre-
'vious concert, make a diverſion, at one and the
'ſame time, in the ſaid king of Pruſſia's domi-
'nions; and afterwards, if poſſible, unite and carry
'on the operations with combined force.'—'And
'whereas, in contracting this heartily and well-
'meant engagement, and by ſuch a powerful aſſiſt-
'ance to be given, and diverſion to be made, in
'favour of the empreſs-queen, (if ſhe ſhould be
'attacked,) her Ruſſian imperial majeſty has not
'the leaſt intention to make any new conqueſts
'upon ſuch an occaſion, or to appropriate them to
'herſelf; and as ſhe has likewiſe conſented to em-
'ploy the aforeſaid ſixty thouſand men by water
'as well as by land, and the equipment of a fleet
'neceſſary thereto will require a very extraordinary
'expence; which, conſidering the advantage that
'may be expected from it (as the enemy may be
'more effectually annoyed, and his forces more
'divided, by water than by land) muſt be account-
'ed an army far exceeding the ſixty thouſand men;
'for theſe reaſons, her majeſty the empreſs-queen
'of Hungary and Bohemia obliges herſelf, in order
'the more fully to demonſtrate her gratitude, to
'pay, within a year, (to be reckoned from the
'time

'time that Silesia and Glatz shall be again in her 'possession) to her imperial majesty of all the 'Russias, two millions of German florins; from 'which sum she shall not be entitled to make any 'deduction, on account of contributions, that may 'have been raised in the enemy's country [169].'

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When the court of Saxony was invited to accede to the treaty of Petersburgh, the count de Vicedom, and the sieur Pezold, the Saxon ministers at Petersburgh, were directed to declare, that their court was ready to accede not only to the treaty itself, but also to the secret article against Prussia, and to concur in the arrangements made by the two courts of Vienna and Petersburgh, provided better measures were taken than before, as well for the safety and defence of Saxony, as for its indemnification and recompence, proportional to the efforts and progress which should be made. As to the last point, the court of Saxony declared, that if the empress-queen, upon any fresh attack from the king of Prussia, should, by their assistance, not only re-conquer Silesia, and the county of Glatz, but also reduce him within narrower bounds, the king of Poland, as elector of Saxony, would stand to the partition-treaty concluded between his Polish majesty and the empress-queen at Leipsic in 1745; proposing, however, some alteration in the stipulations, and that effectual measures should be

[169] Conduct of the Courts of Vienna and Saxony, ut supra, p. 190, 191, 192.

adopted

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adopted for the ſecurity of Saxony. But as ſuch meaſures were not yet agreed upon, the court of Dreſden did not formally accede to the treaty, and repreſented in ſtrong terms the danger to which Saxony might be expoſed, if an open and decided part were to be taken againſt the king of Pruſſia by his Poliſh majeſty.

IN ſome inſtructions ſent from the court of Dreſden to the Saxon miniſters at Peterſburgh, dated May 23, 1747, is the following paſſage: 'As to the ſecret article, which regards eventual 'and ſtronger meaſures againſt a new, ſudden, and 'unexpected attack from the king of Pruſſia, the 'king acknowledges therein the prudent forecaſt of 'the two empreſſes, in thinking beforehand how 'to concert proper meaſures, and powerfully aſſiſt 'each other, if, contrary to better expectations, 'and notwithſtanding their ſcrupulous attention to 'obſerve their treaties with the ſaid prince, the lat-'ter ſhould invade the dominions of either of them; 'and in this caſe the king is ready to join in the 'ſame meaſures. But as he is the moſt expoſed 'to the reſentment of ſo formidable and reſtleſs a 'neighbour, witneſs the ſad experience his majeſty 'has lately had of it, their imperial majeſties will 'not be ſurprized, that the king, before entering 'into ſuch a new, eventual, and extenſive engage-'ment, ſhould take better precautions, as well for 'his ſecurity and mutual defence, as for his being 'indemnified, and recompenſed proportionally to

his

'his efforts, and the progreſs made againſt ſuch an aggreſſor [270].' CHAP. XVI.

In a memorial preſented by the Saxon miniſters at Peterſburgh, in the courſe of the ſame year, is alſo the following paſſage: 'His majeſty entirely 'approves of the wiſe and effectual meaſures which 'the imperial courts have eventually taken, in caſe 'that his majeſty the king of Pruſſia, notwith-'ſtanding the exact obſervation of the peace con-'cluded with that prince, ſhould again attack, in 'a hoſtile manner, the dominions of either party; 'and he is ready to concur therein. But his ma-'jeſty has ſtill greater reaſon, than the two im-'perial courts, to reflect maturely on it, from the 'ſad experience he has lately had, the king of 'Pruſſia having taken a pretence, from the ſuccours 'he was obliged to furniſh to her majeſty, the 'empreſs-queen of Hungary and Bohemia, to de-'clare war againſt him; and moreover the electorate 'of Saxony, by its ſituation, is ſo much expoſed 'to his reſentment, that, if it were not immediately 'aſſiſted, it would be impoſſible, by its own forces, 'to withſtand ſuch ſudden attacks as have been 'executed by the king of Pruſſia.'

In the year 1751, a freſh invitation was made to the king of Poland, as elector of Saxony, to accede to the treaty of Peterſburgh; and his Poliſh majeſty declared his readineſs to do it, in a

[270] Conduct of the Courts of Vienna and Saxony, ut ſupra, p. 195, 196.

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memorial delivered to the Ruſſian miniſter at Dreſden, and ſent full powers, and other neceſſary papers for that purpoſe, to M. Funck, his miniſter at Peterſburgh; but required, at the ſame time, that the king of Great Britain, as elector of Hanover, ſhould previouſly be induced to accede to the ſecret articles of the treaty of Peterſburgh [m]. But his Britannick majeſty could not be prevailed upon to do this; and, therefore, his Poliſh majeſty ſtill declined formally to accede to the treaty.

THE empreſs of Ruſſia, and her miniſters, though they had no immediate quarrel with the king of Pruſſia, had formed very unfavourable ideas of his deſigns; and count Bruhl, the Saxon miniſter, omitted no opportunity of encreaſing their animoſity againſt him, in which he was aſſiſted by the miniſters of the court of Vienna. In a letter from count Bruhl to M. Funck at Peterſburgh, dated Feb. 6, 1754, is the following paſſage: 'I do not 'doubt but the court of Ruſſia is already informed 'of the different movements and arrangements, 'which the king of Pruſſia is making in the king-'dom of that name, with the greateſt celerity and 'the utmoſt ſecrecy, with reſpect to commerce, 'the coin, and eſpecially military preparations. I 'alſo hope that court will be the more attentive 'thereto, as thoſe preparations have been remark-'ed to ſucceed the great augmentation of troops,

[m] Conduct of the Courts of Vienna and Saxony, ut ſupra, p. 203, 204.

'which

'which the empress of Russia lately ordered to be CHAP. XVI.
'made in her neighbouring provinces, and that
'they seem to be in consequence thereof, I have,
'however, thought proper to communicate to you
'the advices on this head, which we have success-
'sively received, in order that you may make use
'of them, in your conferences with the ministry of
'the court where you reside. We are very attentive thereto, being well satisfied of the king of
'Prussia's great desire to intermeddle in the do-
'mestic affairs of Poland; that his projects to ruin
'the commerce of Poland, and particularly that of
'Dantzick, become every day more and more
'conspicuous; and that his views of aggrandize-
'ment, on that side, are certainly one of the most
'flattering objects of his schemes [270].'

Of the confederacy that was forming against him, in case of his giving rise to a new war, and the correspondence between the courts of Vienna, Petersburgh, and Saxony, the king of Prussia was far from being unacquainted. The Saxon dispatches were regularly transmitted to him by the post, for a considerable time, as we are informed by count Hertzberg, through the treachery of a Saxon secretary [271]. The causes of this confederacy against the Prussian monarch are thus stated by Voltaire, in his *Age of Lewis* XV. 'Elizabeth,

[270] Conduct of the Courts of Vienna and Saxony exposed, p. 210, 211.

[271] Mémoire Historique sur la dernière annee, &c. p. 17.

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'empreſs of Ruſſia, was leagued with the empreſs 'Maria Thereſa by antient treaties, by the com- 'mon intereſt which united them againſt the Turks, 'and by reciprocal affection. Auguſtus III. king 'of Poland, and elector of Saxony; being recon- 'ciled to the empreſs-queen, and attached to 'Ruſſia, to which he owed the title of king of 'Poland, was cloſely connected with theſe two 'ſovereigns. Theſe three potentates had each their 'complaints againſt king Frederick. Maria The- 'reſa had ſeen Sileſia torn from her houſe; Auguſ- 'tus, and his council, wanted an indemnification 'for Saxony, ruined by the king of Pruſſia in '1745; and there ſubſiſted between Elizabeth and 'Frederick ſome perſonal ſubjects of complaint, 'which have often more influence than could be 'expected upon the deſtiny of ſtates [274].' In his *Memoirs*, Voltaire alſo ſays, that 'in 1756, Eng- 'land made a piratical war upon France for ſome 'acres of ſnow; at the ſame time that the empreſs 'queen of Hungary appeared very deſirous to re- 'cover her dear Sileſia, which had been wreſted 'from her by the king of Pruſſia. She negociated 'for this purpoſe with the empreſs of Ruſſia, and 'with the king of Poland, that is, in quality of 'elector of Saxony; for nobody negociated with 'the Poles [275].'

[274] Age of Lewis XV. ch. 32.

[275] Memoires de Voltaire, p. 147.

AFTER

CHAP. XVI. A. D. 1756.

AFTER the concluſion of the treaty between the kings of Great Britain and Pruſſia, a defenſive alliance was alſo entered into between the courts of Vienna and Verſailles, and the French court alſo acceded to the treaty of Peterſburgh. 'It was 'now,' ſays Voltaire, 'that the antient enmity be-'tween the houſes of France and Auſtria, which 'had continued encreaſing ever ſince the times of 'Charles V. and Francis I. gave way to a friend-'ſhip which appeared cordially eſtabliſhed, to the 'aſtoniſhment of all the nations of Europe. The 'king of France, who had carried on ſo cruel a 'war againſt Maria Thereſa, became her ally; 'and the king of Pruſſia, who had been allied to 'France, became its enemy. France and Auſtria 'were thus united, after three hundred years ſpent 'in a bloody diſcord [276].'

SOON after the concluſion of the treaty between the courts of Vienna and Verſailles, complaints were exhibited by the miniſters of the empreſs queen at foreign courts, that her good intentions had been miſrepreſented, as if the friendly alliance, lately concluded between her imperial majeſty and his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, contained ſecret articles, calculated for the total ſuppreſſion of the Proteſtant religion, and to influence the election of a king of the Romans, and that, upon ſuch falſe ſuggeſtions, there had been a propoſal made for a league of the Proteſtant courts againſt the houſe of

[276] Age of Lewis XV. ch. 32.

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Auſtria. It was alſo inſinuated, that the ruin of the Catholic faith in Germany was the principal object of the new alliance between the kings of Great Britain and Pruſſia. In anſwer to theſe complaints and inſinuations, his Britannick majeſty cauſed a memorial to be delivered to the diet at Ratiſbon, in which he expreſſed his ſurprize to find, that the treaty, which he had concluded with the king of Pruſſia [z], was induſtriouſly repreſented

[z] Mr. Entick has made the following obſervations relative to the two treaties entered into by king George II. the firſt with the empreſs of Ruſſia, and the ſecond with the king of Pruſſia. 'The king of Pruſſia's martial ſpirit,' ſays he, 'his diſguſt for a 'long time with the houſe of Hanover, his general attachment 'to the intereſt of France, which might diſpoſe him to become 'a proper inſtrument to execute the projects of the French mi- 'niſtry, already provided for, againſt the electorate of Hanover, 'and its dependencies, put the king of Great Britain, elector of 'Hanover, upon meaſures to defeat any attempt to his prejudice 'by the aids of Pruſſia; which could not be done ſo effectually 'by any other means, as by engaging a power ſufficient to deter 'him, and to keep him quiet, with an army hovering over, 'and ready to break in upon his regal dominions, the moment 'his Pruſſian majeſty dared to join France in the execution of 'the invaſion of Hanover. This was certainly a good reaſon 'for the Ruſſian treaty.'—'But when his majeſty diſcovered an 'inclination in the king of Pruſſia to ſhake off his French con- 'nexions, and to become ſincerely an ally to Great Britain, and 'was from thence thoroughly perſuaded, that his electoral do- 'minions had nothing to fear from his arms, it made the treaty 'with Ruſſia uſeleſs; the power, whoſe motions the Ruſſian 'army was hired to watch, having become a friend. The only 'dread, that now appeared, was an invaſion by the French; 'whoſe

ed as a ground of apprehenſion and umbrage, and eſpecially with reſpect to religion. That nevertheleſs, he obſerved, the whole empire muſt be ſenſible, that he had always made it a rule to ſupport the rights of each of the religions which prevailed in the empire, without any diſtinction of perſons; to maintain juſtice; to enforce the execution of the laws and conſtitutions of the empire; to protect its liberties and the public peace; and to contribute to keep up in the Germanic body ſuch a ſyſtem, as appeared moſt conducive to its ſafety. CHAP. XVI. A. D. 1756.

'whoſe entrance into the empire was become the ſole object of 'thoſe councils, which were held for the protection of Hanover. 'The beſt means to preſerve Hanover, was to ſeek for, and gain 'an alliance, capable of reſiſting any foreign power, ſuch as 'the French, from entering the empire. This could not be 'done by the Ruſſian troops, which were cantoned in Livonia, and other diſtant nations; but might be effectually undertaken with the aid of the king of Pruſſia. Therefore, as the 'ſafety of Hanover was the chief object of theſe two treaties, 'and that ſafety could be more effectually maintained by making the enemy, of whom we were jealous, a friend and ally, 'and to join in keeping the French from entering the empire, it 'was a wiſe and good meaſure.' General Hiſt. of the War from 1755 to 1763, vol. I. p. 257, 258. edit. 1784. Mr. Entick, however, afterwards adds, that 'this treaty was ſoon perceived 'to contain the ſeeds of a German war, and whatever might be the ſentiments of this writer concerning the wiſdom of the meaſure, the Pruſſian treaty was certainly productive of an immenſe expence to Great Britain, it tended to throw Auſtria into the arms of France, which was an event not favourable to the balance of power in Europe, and it did not even ſecure Hanover from invaſion.

That,

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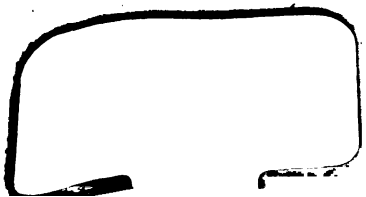
That, in conſequence of theſe principles, he had neglected nothing that might moſt effectually tend to the ſupport of the houſe of Auſtria; but a war having broken out between Great Britain and France, about their poſſeſſions in America, and France having made manifeſt diſpoſitions for invading the electorate of Hanover, his Britannick majeſty, being denied by the empreſs-queen the ſuccours ſtipulated by treaty, had been obliged to conclude a defenſive alliance with the king of Pruſſia; but that this was without any prejudice to either of the religions exerciſed in the empire; the contracting parties having had no views in that treaty, but ſuch as were perfectly conſiſtent with the public peace and tranquility. It was farther obſerved, that time would demonſtrate, how little it was the intereſt of the empreſs-queen to enter into ſtrict alliance with a foreign power, which, for upwards of two centuries, had ravaged the principal provinces of the empire, maintained repeated wars againſt the archducal houſe of Auſtria, and always endeavoured, as it ſuited her views, to excite diſtruſt and diſſenſion among the princes and ſtates that compoſe the Germanic body [277].

[277] Entick's General Hiſt. of the War, vol. II. p. 52, 53, 54. Smollett's Hiſt. of England from the Revolution, vol. IV. p. 5, 6.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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